The Quarterly Journal

of the New York State Historical Association

VOL. X JULY, 1929 No. 3

NEW SOURCES ON THE SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN IN 1779

I

A NEW DESIGNATION

"The Indian Expedition" was the name employed by Washington in planning and by Congress in authorizing the military movement whose 150th anniversary is being observed by the State of New York in this year 1929. The official reports and letters of 1778 and 1779 all used that designation or varied it with more specific allusions to the Iroquois or the Six Nations.

After the project became an accomplished fact under the leadership of General John Sullivan it came to be known as "The Sullivan Expedition." This designation has persisted for a century and a half and is commonly used today. In the observance of the 50th and the 100th anniversaries, and in the valuable publication by the State of New York in 1887 this phrase was used.

Not until 1928 when a few historical students began to make a careful examination of the available printed material and to unearth hitherto unused unprinted sources, in order to make a resurvey of the enterprise, was a disposition shown to rename the movement so as to characterize it more correctly in scope, unity, purpose and results.

It was pointed out, in the first place, that while General Sullivan was commander-in-chief, General James Clinton personally directed the organization of two important parts, and actually led an army from the Mohawk River over the hills to Lake Otsego and then down the Susquehanna to Tioga. Furthermore General James Clinton was regarded as being second in command under General Sullivan. When General Sullivan absented himself from the victorious army after his return to Pennsylvania, he turned the command over to General Clinton.

In the second place, it has become apparent that while a military expedition had been intended originally it lengthened in time and broadened in scope until it became a campaign. Consequently the earlier designations of "Indian Expedition" and "Sullivan Expedition" have been displaced by the more accurate and comprehensive phrase "The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign."

II

Interest in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign

It should be remembered that the defeat of General Burgoyne at Bennington, Oriskany, and Saratoga in 1777 for a time checked the activities of the British and Tories, or Loyalists, and their Indian allies against the frontier settlements. In 1778, however, all along the borderline of white pioneers in New York and Pennsylvania there were attacks on villages and isolated farms. Houses and barns were given to the flames. Crops were destroyed or carried off. The live stock was killed or driven away. Men, women and children were slain or taken prisoners. Something like a reign of terror prevailed. From individuals, committees, and military officers in the exposed regions went forth a persistent demand for protection and defense. This cry was taken up by the patriots generally for most of them had friends or relatives in the zones of danger. The atrocities were magnified as war propaganda, and Wyoming and Cherry Valley became watchwords of retaliation.

Prominent leaders like General Philip Schuyler, Governor George Clinton and Washington were deeply impressed with the necessity of doing something. As plans for the campaign grew during 1778, public interest in it mounted. It was the topic of common conversation, of newspaper notice, and of much letter writing. Its preliminary preparations were watched with profound concern, and its execution was awaited with anxiety. It was regarded by the American soldiers as being so unique and so significant that many of them kept journals and diaries of their experiences in the midst of the hardships of a campaign in the wilds of Pennsylvania and New York. Its complete success elicited words and resolutions of thanks from Washington and Congress.

There is another side of the picture, however, which must be given for the sake of historic accuracy. From the inception

of the campaign in the years 1778 and 1779 there was manifested a disposition to belittle it. A group of men, honest, let us trust, but misguided, both within and without Congress, composed of civilians and officers, manifested a disposition to minimize the project and to hinder its accomplishment. These opponents consisted, first, of Quakers, mainly in Pennsylvania. They denounced the war against the poor untutored Indians, who were victims of a conflict not of their own choosing. Learning of the destruction of forty Indian villages, cornfields, orchards and vegetable gardens in the campaign, they raised the charge of unwarranted brutality and cruelty against General Sullivan and his men. The same cry has been perpetuated down to the present time although, it may be said, with a decreasing volume as a more intelligent comprehension of the campaign has prevailed.

The second group of persons disposed to criticise the invasion of the home of the Indians and the refuge of the Tories consisted of the enemies of Washington who took advantage of every opportunity to thwart his plans in order to undermine his prestige and influence. To them were added the foes of men like Philip Schuyler and Governor Clinton who were known to have aided Washington in the arrangements. The hostility of this class was pretty well silenced by the brilliant triumph of General Sullivan and his army. Their resentment was turned against General Sullivan himself who was so irritated by the treatment he received that in November, 1779, he resigned his commission in the army and resumed his practice of law.

When the War of Independence was won and Western New York was peopled by the descendants of the veterans of 1779 and others, the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was not forgotten. They spoke of it as the origin of their wealth and prosperity. In 1829, at the close of the first half century, the Semicentennial was observed with pride and enthusiasm. Many of the old soldiers who had invaded the wilderness were present to see the fruits of their heroism. At the conclusion of 100 years a great Centennial was held in 1879 in the towns and villages of New York and Pennsylvania along the routes of the armies. And the first effort was made to collect the historical sources which would set forth the truth about the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign.

With the coming of the Sesquicentennial of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1929 the interest is greater than ever. Now people

are far enough away from the event not to be moved by the hatreds and prejudices of an earlier day. They want to know the whole truth about that movement. And they feel that it was of sufficient moment to observe its 150th anniversary on a gigantic scale commensurate with its real significance in American history. Consequently the states of Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey are joining New York in making this commemoration memorable.

III

The Old Interpretation

The old interpretation of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was determined by the exaggerations and hatreds of the Indians and Tories which survived the Revolution. Consequently it was viewed as a punitive drive in retaliation for the outrages committed on the border settlements. Its ruthlessness was justified on this ground. Washington himself had ordered that the homes of the Indians should be destroyed and their means of subsistence devastated so that they would be compelled to fall back on the English for food and clothing; and that as many prisoners as possible be captured. The soldiers who participated in it gloried in the successful completion of the campaign and with pride boasted of their exploits to their children and grandchildren. The thousands of Revolutionary veterans and settlers who shortly after peace was signed rushed into the new territory to obtain the cheap, rich lands from which the Red Man had been driven by conquest or persuaded to leave by treaty, failed to realize the great national significance of this military movement. They were conscious only of the fact that the Indian had gone and they were in possession of his valuable domain. This turn in the wheel of fortune they were disposed to regard as just punishment for the Indians' choice of the losing side and for their terrorizing attacks on the frontiersmen.

The journals and diaries kept during the campaign, and the reminiscences and letters written afterwards, give the impression that their authors did not see the real historic significance of the project for the wider development of the Republic. There seemed to be no realization of the wise precautions taken and the careful plans made by Washington before recommending the campaign to Congress for endorsement and authorization.

Later historians who have dealt with the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign have added little to the old interpretation of it as an act of revenge. Some of them, in addition, called attention to the fact that it did open up Western New York to eastern and southern settlers as one of its results. Few of them attempted to explain the campaign as a unit or to point out the strategic object of the secondary movements led by Colonel Van Schaick and Colonel Brodhead. General Clinton's part was not credited with the importance it deserves. Indeed most persons thought of the campaign only in terms of the main drive from Tioga to the Genesee River.

This old interpretation has persisted for a century and a half without being seriously challenged. The time has come now with the awakened interest in the campaign to give publicity to the new interpretation which has sprung from a restudy of the old sources and the discovery of new material.

IV

The New Sources of Information

The volume known as *General Sullivan's Indian Expedition*, published by the State of New York in 1887, summarizes the scholarly work done on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign which resulted from the Centennial of 1879. For the first time all of the available journals, diaries, and official reports were assembled and made accessible to students in one handy volume. A trace was found of several other journals but neither the journals nor copies were discovered. A careful summary of this valuable material was made by that painstaking investigator, David Craft, and printed in the same book. As a result, the first authentic account, with references and notes, of the campaign as a unit was given to the public.

Since the appearance in 1887 of the work mentioned above, considerable new material has been made available which enables the historian to reinterpret the causes, the character, the purposes and particularly the results of the campaign. Some of these sources have been printed and others are still in manuscript. These new sources of information may be summarized as follows:

The Orderly Book of Thomas E. Gee now in the library at Cornell University records the garrison orders at Fort Sullivan,

Athens, Pa., from August 27 to October 1, 1779, and the General Orders of Headquarters from October 1 at "Tyoga" to October 16, 1779, at Easton, Pa. This Orderly Book was edited by Mrs. Louise Welles Murray and printed by the Tioga Point Historical Society of Athens, Pa.

The Orderly Books in the possession of Lieutenant Samuel Tallmadge, an adjutant in the 4th New York Regiment who participated in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, which are being printed by the State of New York, throw considerable light on the Clinton Expedition from Canajoharie to Tioga. Unfortunately that portion of the Orderly Book which tells of the main movement from Tioga to Genesee Castle has been torn out and lost.

The manuscript notes and maps of General John S. Clark now in the library at Auburn Theological Seminary are valuable for geographical information and surveys.

The diary of Lieutenant Robert Parker of Lamb's Artillery Regiment appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. It gives the only account by an eye witness of the return of Colonel Gansevoort from Canadesaga to the Mohawk Valley as well as other information covering much of the entire Campaign.

This journal, as well as those of Gore and Fairley, are now included in a book printed by the State this year. The lost journals of Judge James Deane, Capt. William Pierce, Major Adam Hoops, Sergeant Major Kimball Prince and Newman have not been found. The narratives by Nathan Davis, Rev. John Gano, John Salmon, Moses Van Campen, Col. Philip Van Cortlandt, and Lieut. John Shreve have been printed in magazines or books. These sources, which are available, add details to the information contained in the materials already mentioned.

The *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, edited by Edmund C. Burnet, of which 4 volumes have been printed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921–1928, present some informal information of value.

The publication of the *Public Papers of George Clinton* by the State in 1899–1914 supplied considerable new material but it appeared at a time when there was little interest in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign and therefore it has not hitherto been used for the revision of Craft's account. It may be said, however, that it

adds numerous details and in some respects changes his narrative materially.

With the approach of the Sullivan-Clinton Sesquicentennial, elaborate plans were made by the State Department of Education to hold a series of dignified and educational observances in those parts of the State associated with the campaign. In searching for new light on the expedition and those who participated in it, the State Historian found in the Reports of the Canadian Archivist references to unprinted letters by Tory leaders like John Butler, Walter Butler, Guy Johnson and Sir John Johnson; letters by British officers like Col. Mason Bolton, Capt. John MacDonnell, and General Haldimand; letters from governmental officials in England; and letters from intelligent Indian leaders like Joseph Brant. These sources throw new light on the causes of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign; give the rumors current among the Indians, Tories and British about the plans and movements of the Americans; present different versions of the Battle of Minisink, the skirmish of Chemung, the Battle of Newtown, the Indian councils, the destruction of property by the invading army, the reasons why so little resistence was encountered by the patriots, the lack of supplies among the Indians and Loyalists, and the effects of the campaign on the Iroquois, Tories and English. In short these sources supply the British and Indian descriptions of the campaign which have been hitherto lacking.

Supplementing these new sources on the Indian and British side, there were obtained from the Library of Congress a large number of unprinted letters from Washington, James Clinton, Philip Schuyler, and others which add materially to our knowledge of how the campaign was planned, organized and executed.

A study of this new material has supplied the information for a reinterpretation of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, which will appear in the remainder of this paper.

V.

Causes and Purposes

In seeking the alliance of the Iroquois at the outbreak of the Revolution the odds were strongly with the British for various reasons. In the first place, there was behind them a background of friendly peace, and cooperation on the field of war, covering

about a century. Secondly, for a large part of that period Sir William Johnson, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, exercised a tremendous influence over the councils of the Six Nations and had prepared them for loyalty to the Crown. Consequently the plea for neutrality, which the Americans made to the Indians of New York, went unheeded save by the Oneidas, a part of the Tuscaroras and individuals here and there among the other tribes. Thus, thirdly, being active allies of the English, it was inevitable that the Indians would be used in warfare against the colonists and that their own barbarous practices would be employed. This occasioned resentment, led to retaliation, and supplied useful materials for propaganda. The years 1777 and 1778 witnessed numerous attacks on the frontier communities which resulted in a persistent demand by the committees and individuals for protection and revenge.

The Tory or Loyalist was a factor in the situation. With the issuance of the Declaration of Independence, every person had to take a stand either for or against the Revolution. Thousands of New Yorkers preferred to remain loyal to the King and Empire. Many of them enlisted in Loyalist companies and regiments and Sir John Johnson's "Royal Greens" and Butler's "Rangers" were conspicuous military units. Acquainted with the colony, the Loyalist troops were employed largely for ranger duty. The Johnsons and Butlers in close touch with the Indians directed the forays on the frontier settlements. Thus all the hatreds and misrepresentation incident to a civil war, with families and neighborhoods divided against one another, soon prevailed in New York.

That the marauding expeditions of Indians and Tories under the Johnsons, the Butlers, McDonell, Brant and others caused one wave of anger after another to spread over New York and the Middle States in 1777, 1778 and 1779 is attested by many an appealing letter and committee's demand for action. No individual or community on the frontier felt safe. Even fortified cities like Albany and Kingston feared attack.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the direct and immediate cause of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was to destroy, so far as possible, the menace of dusky foes and white royalists who were located chiefly in the Finger Lakes area, the Chemung valley and along the St. Lawrence River.

Another purpose was to devastate by fire and axe the cornfields, orchards, vegetable gardens and buildings which harbored and fed the Indians and Tories. With their habitations and crops destroyed, it was believed that they would be forced to flee to the British fortresses and depots and thus become a real burden to the English military leaders.

One aspect of this problem has been almost entirely overlooked, namely, that the country of the Six Nations was an important source of food supplies for the British army as well as the Loyalists. Tens of thousands of bushels of nourishing corn usually left a surplus that could be sold at Niagara, Oswego, Montreal and Quebec and thus be made available for both the British Army and Navy for mush, griddle cakes, corn bread and pudding. In addition to corn the Indians sold to the British dried vegetables, dried fruits, and dried meats. These facts were known to patriot leaders like Schuyler, Hand and Washington. To capture, cut off or destroy sources of food supply of the enemy has always been effective military strategy. Hence this Campaign served a double purpose: to force the hostile Six Nations away from the American frontiers and to weaken the commissary departments of the English.

Another factor had to do with Canada. At the outbreak of the Revolution strenuous efforts had been made to induce the Canadians, particularly those of French blood, to make common cause with the Revolutionists. With this object in view, early in the war, several unsuccessful efforts had been made by invasion to seize Canada. Hope of success in that quarter had not been abandoned. To threaten, and perhaps to take Oswego and Niagara, would not only encourage the American friends in Canada but also prevent the sending of troops and warships from the St. Lawrence to wage war to the southward. It also compelled the British government to send men, ships and supplies directly to Canada instead of to New York City. This important phase of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign has been generally ignored by the historians of the Revolution.

It was commonly recognized in the War of Independence that New York was the most strategic position on the Atlantic. The Hudson River was the only great water highway directly from the ocean to the St. Lawrence Valley. The Mohawk River was the only natural opening from the coast to the Great Lakes and the interior of North America. Whoever held these waterways

would dominate the continent. British military leaders based their strategy for crushing the Revolution upon the seizure of these thoroughfares. Washington realizing their value was equally determined to hold them. The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, if successful, would relieve the frontiers and free a large army of Continentals and many rangers and militiamen to enable him to hold the Hudson Highlands. It was a matter of much significance that on July 16, 1779, while the armies of Generals Sullivan and Clinton were assembling at Easton, Pa., and Canajoharie, N. Y., Washington sent a force under the direction of General Wayne to storm the well-entrenched Stony Point. The result was a demonstration of the fact that he was still strong enough to defend the Hudson even though 5,000 of his best men were absent preparing for the western movement. There was real intention behind the fact that Washington spent so much of his time during the war on the banks of the Hudson and within easy reach of it.

Of far greater consequence in American history than any of the causes and objectives already mentioned was another that helped to shape the future of the American Republic. By 1779 Washington saw that the war was pretty much deadlocked. So far as either side had won an advantage it seemed to be with the Americans. They had crushed Burgoyne's Campaign and forced his armies either to retreat or to surrender in 1777. France had become an open ally and Spain was to follow shortly. Washington believed that peace was not far off. He saw that when the terms of settlement were drawn up, if the young nation got nothing but a strip of land along the Atlantic with no opportunity for expansion westward, the struggle would scarcely be worth its cost. Hence the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign and the expedition under George Rogers Clark farther westward were intended to stake down claims which would assure to the United States western New York and Pennsylvania and likewise the rich territory south of the Great Lakes farther west. Not many leaders of 1779 saw the great prize, but Washington, the seer, did.

When these causes and purposes are clearly understood, the full significance of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in the history of New York State and America, will receive greater attention. Those persons who denounce it as a useless and abortive punishment of the misguided Iroquois either do not or will not view it in all its relations.

VI

Preliminary Plans of Washington

The American Revolution was won not by offensive campaigns but by defensive maneuvering. Delays, masterly retreats, uncertainties, surprise attacks and pitched battles only when imperative, constituted Washington's military strategy. The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was a pronounced exception. It was perhaps the most carefully-planned offensive campaign in the Revolution. In geographic scope it covered immediately the major parts of Pennsylvania and New York and ultimately territory to the Mississippi. It was led by carefully selected officers and the troops for the most part were veterans and not raw militiamen. In looking over the correspondence of Schuyler, George Clinton, Hand, and Washington it is astonishing to see the pains taken to gather information from all available sources about routes, supplies, transportation, streams, trails, seasons, Indian settlements, &c., &c.

In the earlier accounts of the campaign the name of Philip Schuyler scarcely appears. It is now known that he, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was continually consulted by Washington and his advice probably was the basis for Washington's decision. The unprinted letters exchanged between them make it quite certain that Schuyler largely determined the character of the campaign. Indeed Washington would have been highly pleased had Schuyler accepted command of the army led by General James Clinton. Schuyler's contribution to the campaign might be regarded as a comparatively recent discovery. Schuyler was Washington's "most trusted counsellor and friend" to whom Washington's letters closed with "your affectionate," &c.

But it was Washington himself who was indefatigable in assembling useful data from frontiersmen, rangers, scouts, travellers, traders, trappers, military men, and missionaries. The questionnaire and the replies printed below for the first time and written in his own hand is an excellent example of his methodical and foresighted method of gathering data.

WASHINGTON'S QUESTIONNAIRE[1]

To obtain useful and necessary knowledge for the purpose of carrying on an Expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations the following questions were propounded and answered.

[1]General Hand's answers are all given under, "(1)"; Colonels Coxe and Patterson's under "(2)"; and Colonel Charles Stewart's under "(3)". *Ed.*

1st Which branch of the east branch of Susquehannah is it that leads into, or near the Settlements of the Six Nations, & is made use of by them when they come to War on the northern Frontiers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys—and the Western Frontiers of New York?—

(1) The Teoga or Cayuga Branch.

(2) The Cayuga, Owegy, and Shenango branches lead into the principal Indian settlements on the Waters of the No East branch of Susquehannah.—

(3) The Indians last War and the Enemy this, have come from Niagara through the Seneca Country; on the waters of the Cayuga branch they have a considerable settlement, and I have heard they have at present a strong party quartered in the Forks of the Cayuga and East Branch.—

2d What distance is it from the mouth of this branch to the Settlements, and what tribes inhabit them?

(1) To Chemung 12 miles. Chemung is inhabited by different tribes and Tories (from Chemung to Conosadaga is three days journey, from Conosadago there are scattered settlements for near 30 miles on the road to Niagara, don't know what tribes—From Chemung up the Creek to a ridge which divides its waters from that of Chenessie 4 days journey 12 miles over the ridge to Chenessie a capitol Seneka town, no settlement between this and Niagara on ye direct road.

N. B.—That part of the answer included in the Parenthesis I have had from Deserters from the Enemy.—

(2) The distance from the mouth of Cayuga to Chemung (the first town on that water is abt. 18 mi.— Inhabited by Munseys at the mouth of Owegy and abt. a mile up ye ck. there are 2 small Indn. Settlemts. inhabited by Cayugas—A little above the mouth of Shenango a very considerable settlemt of Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas and Nantekokes a small distance below the mouth on ye oppost. side of ye. brh. is a settlement of abt. 30 Warriors—

There are some Indian Settlemts. on the main branch above Chenango as far up as Ononquage which is abt. 40 miles above Owegy.

(3) Cannot answer as to the distance with certainty, the Indians who inhabit are Delawares, Munseys, Nantekokes, Tuscaroras and Oneidas with some Shawenese.

3d What kind of Navigation is it? How far does it extend?—and what sort of Vessels are best suited to it?

(1) Cayuga is navigable to Chemung for boats and for canoes 10 miles higher—It is said the Indians come down the middle branch with loaded canoes nearly from the ridge that divides that water from the Chenessie.

(2) Batteaux of 2 or 3 tons can go from Estherton to Chenango at any time from the breaking up of the Susquehanna to the first of June—N. B. The boats for this navigation ought to be larger than those made use of on the Mohawk River.

(3) Easy—At Nascopeck 30 miles from Sunbury and Wyoming is a rapid—at Wyoming a considerable Fall—near Wyalusing another—These are all I remember. Batteaux and whale boats have been all this distance and from the head of the east branch at the lakes.—

4th Will the country admit the transportation of artillery by land or by water? At what season is the water in its best state for batteauing?—And how soon in the spring will the grass afford sufficient support for the pack horses and cattle designed for provisions?—

(1) Artillery may be transported from ye mouth of Teoga to the first Seneca Castle which is on the Canadesaga Lake a distance about 70 miles—The country is level—To the mouth of Cayuga it must go by water up the Susquehannah—The water is in the best state for batteauing from the 1st of April to the last of May.—Generally by the first of May grass will support horses and cattle and there are large fields of English grass between Wyoming and the Indian country within a few miles of each other.

(2) Artillery must be conveyed by water up the Susquehanna to Teoga and may go up to the head of that River in the same manner. The water best from the first of March to the middle of May. There will be great plenty of grass by the first of May.

(3) By water must be the most certain method of transporting artillery and heavy stores, but I fancy if occasion should require small pieces may be carried by land—From April until June the water is highest—The great Indian Fields along the River afford plenty of grass at all times after the snow is gone.

5th Where would be a proper place, or proper places for establishing magazines for an expedition of this kind?—

(1) The grand mag^{e} of flour should be at Augusta till it is established at Teoga.—Mouth of Mohocamac is a good place for the convenience of driving cattle.

(2) The most proper places for establishing magazines are Augusta, Wioming, Wialusing and Teoga.

(3) At Sunbury (i. e. Augusta) for Lancaster, Berks and Cumberland Counties—and Wioming for supplies going from Easton and the Jerseys.—

6th How far is the Susquehannah navigable above the great fork at Fort Augusta for Batteaux or Canoes?—and what is the distance from Fort Augusta to the mouth of the branch leading into the Indian country as above mentioned?

(1) The Susquehannah is navigable for boats of 8 or 10 tons from Fort Augusta to Lake Otsego which is only 16 or 18 miles from Cannojoharie on the Mohawk River.—From Fort Augusta to Teoga is about 160 miles.—

(2) The No. Et. branch of Susquehannah is navigable for boats of 2 or 3 tons to Chenango—and from thence to Ononquage for Batteaux of nearly the same size—From Augusta to Chenango is about 195 miles.

(3) Except the Falls mentioned in the 3d. ans. the east branch is navigable from Fort Augusta to Lake Otsego for Batteaux and Canoes.—From Fort Augusta to Wioming is abt. 60 miles—From Wioming to Wyalusing abt. the same distance—From thence to Teoga abt. 40.—In all 160 M.

7th Do the inhabitants make use of this navigation? And are there many vessels, and Batteaumen on the River?

(1) This navigation has been much used, but few boats or batteaumen on the River above Fort Augusta.

(2) The inhabitants have made use of this navigation with Canoes for many years, and with boats from 6 to 8 tons for 8 or 10 yrs. past—There are 10 or 12 boats now in use—Batteaumen rathr. scarce.

(3) There were sevl. boats and batteaus called Durham boats employed when I was last on the River—but when I went to Susquehannah in 1768 we followed a path (from Delaware) and used pack horses—since that a road has been opened by New England which has been made use of by carts.

8th How far above Easton is the Delaware navigable for the above kind of vessels?

(1) To the mouth of Mohacamac for Batteaux and to Cookhouse On the Mohawk branch for Canoes—that is 66 miles for Batteaux and 148 for Canoes, probably higher though not used.—

(2) The navigation from Easton up the river tho bad in some places between the upper Minisink and Cuychetop Falls is nevertheless sufficient for boats from one to 2 tons—and from Falls to Cookhouse very good, which brings you to the old Indian path leading to Ononquage and distant therefrom abt. 12 miles.—

(3) Delaware except one Fall near Hoops Mill is navigable when the river is high as far up as the place called the Cookhouse about 13 miles from Ononquage.—

9th How far is it from Easton to the mouth of Mohocamac by water and by land?

(1) Cannot ascertain the distance by water but boats loaded with 20 or 30 Barrls. are pushed up in 6 days.—Distance by land is 66 miles.

(2) It is by land 70 M. and about 75 by water.

(3) I suppose 75 miles and the distance by water or to follow the road nearly equal.—

10th What kind of a rd. is it?—And what kind of a navigation for the above vessels?—

(1) The road is in general good—The stream is very rapid in many places, particularly at what is called the foul rift near Easton.

(2) The road is good—The navigation very safe and well known.

(3) The road is pretty good, the navigation after you pass the Falls at Hoop's Mills is rather rapid to the mountain—thence pretty gentle to the mouth of Mohocomac.

11th How far is it from Mohocomac to the Popaxtunk branch by land and by water?—

(1) About 70 miles nearly the same by land and water to the mouth of Popaxtunk.—

(2) The distance is about 65 miles both by Land and water.

(3) I believe near 60 miles and rough country near the river side and the road bed.

12th What kind of a road—and what kind of navigation between the two places?—

(1) The road in many places rough and cut by creeks difficult to pass when the waters are up the currt. very swift for 23 miles—not so from thence to Cuschecton (16 miles) where there are falls.

(2) The road on the wt. side by Scholy good for pack horses to the mouth of Masthope from thence crossing the river frequently continues good to within 30 miles of Cook house—from thence rather difficult even for pack horses.—

(3) The road is bad, but I believe the navigation is good.

13th What is the distance across from Popaxtunk (or higher up the Mohawk branch) to the Susquehannah at Ononquaga or that settlement?—And what kind of a road and Country is it to pass?

(1) From Cookhouse on the Mohawk branch (12 miles above the forks of Popaxtunk) it is 12 miles to Onenquaga a foot path across the country that will allow of a pretty good way.

(Courtesy of Club Dial, White Plains, N. Y.)

James Clinton B. Genl

(Courtesy of Club Dial, White Plains, N. Y.)

(2) From the Mohawk branch of Delaware at a noted place called Cook-house to Onenquage is 12 miles and a good pack horse road all the way—but the country *generally* between the Mohawk branch of Delaware and the East bra. of Susqh. is rough and woody aboundg. with small beach.

(3) The distance is abt. thirteen miles from the place called Cook-house to Onenquage—the Country is hilly between the 2 rivers—I believe Cook house is about 12 miles above the forks of the Popaxtunk and Mohawk branches and on the latter.—

14th How far is the Onenquage settlement above or below the branch wch. leads into, or towards the country of the Six Nations?—

(1) Sixty miles above it by land. By water a greater distance.

(2) From Cook-house on Delaware to Onanquage is nearly north.—Note, this question must have been misunderstood.

(3) I have forgot this distance but can tell with certainty when I see my field notes—I suppose between 70 or 80 miles.

15th How far is it from New Windsor to the mouth of Mohocomac, or ye. nearest part of the Delaware River?—By what name is that nearest place distinguished?—And how far above or below the mouth of the said branch is it? And what kind of a road across?

(1) Forty miles measured—12 miles very bad—the remainder very good—the mouth of Mohocomac also called *Minisink*, and the York line is the nearest part of Delaware to New Windsor.

(2) Colo. Hooper supposed it to be about 100 miles to Mohocamac—the road pretty good for waggons the best part of the way—there is a good pack-horse road from Hudsons Rivr. below Eusopus to Cuschecton on Delaware.

(3) I am not acquainted with the geography of this country—I believe there is a road opened from Cuschecton to the No. River but I think the road from Mohocamac is much the best.

16th How far is it from Kingston to the mouth of Papaxtunk or the nearest part of Delaware above or below it? And what kind of a road and country to pass through? From the one place to the other?—

(1) The mouth of Mohocomac is as near Kingston as any other part of Delaware—the distance abt. 60 Miles road good, and the Country well inhabited to Swinikill which is halfway—but to get to the mouth of Popalaxing on the same branch cuts off 25 or 30 miles from Kingston to Pa.; taking in abt. 60 miles by a tolerable goodly set Road—thence to the mouth the navigation is good.

(2) There is a path from Kingston to a settlement on the Popaxtunk branch of Delaware—no waggon road—the distance not known.

(3) I cannot answer this with any degree of certainty.

17th How far is it from Easton to Wioming? What sort of a road and country between?—

(1) About 70 miles the road very bad, passable for pack horses only, the Country taken by Mountain swamps.

(2) About 67 miles Road from Easton to *penna* gap good—from thence bad—Country flat—nothing more than a foot path for Pack horses.—

18th How is the Country above Easton on the Delaware, and Fort Augusta on Susquehannah inhabited?—How far up on each river do the present inhabitants extend?—and what resources in the articles of Provisions and forage can they furnish?—

(1) The Country on Delaware is thickly inhabited as high as Mohocomac from thence almost *deserted*.—At the mouth of the Paxtunk 4 or 5 settlements—The Susquehannah has some scattering settlements betwn. Fort Augusta and *Jenkins* (35 miles). This deserted except Inhabitants collected at Wyoming.—Very little forage to be had.

(2) The Delaware well inhabited to Mohocomac—and from thence upwards depopulated by the Savages—Plenty of grass from Cuscheton Falls to Cookhouse—From Fort Augusta for abt. 20 miles thinly inhabited—no provisions or short feed—grass in plenty from the 1st May.

19th. How far is it from Fort Augusta or any other place above or below, to the Alligany river at or above the Kittaning. What kind of a Country is it to pass through—has it ever been much used?—If it has, whether by land or water? and the distance each way and the length of the Portages?

(1) Cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question—if my recollection be good I think it is abt. 40 Miles from the water of the West branch of Susquehannah (navigable for canoes) to Kittaning. I believe it has never never been much used.—The Country near Alligany river must be hilly—Captn. James and Wm. Wilson of the 1st Regt. can probably give a more satisfactory account—one or both of them have been across—Mr. McIntire of Lascasle is acquainted with that road.

(2) The nearest way from Fort Augusta to the Alligany is up the west branch of Susquehannah by water to the great island and from thence across to the Kittaning about 120 miles—but the best way from Susquehannah to the Alligany is up the Juniata to the Canoe place and from thence across by land to the Kittaning which is about 65 miles and a good road for pack horses all the way.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

Extracts of Letters— and information from Sundry persons respecting the Indian settlements upon the waters of Susquehannah—Lake Ontario—and Alligany with the distances of places—and practicable routs by Land and Water.

Colo. Zebn Butlar—comg. at Wioming:

"The distance from this place to Chemung" about 15 miles above Teoga "is about 100" miles, the road impossible to pass any "other way than by pack horses or Boats."

Captn. Stoddart—of Heartley's Regt.:

Is in sentiment with Colo. Butlar respecting the distance, and means of transportation from Wioming to Chemung.—

He is of opinion (but Genl. Hand differs from him in it) that in a few days the Indians can assemble at Chemung four or 500 Indians besides Tories.—Chemung he says is a powerful Indian Town and there are several other Towns of inferior strenth within 30, 40, and 50 miles of it.

Colo. Hartley:

Makes the above distances about the same—and speaks of the Country to Chemung as hilly swampy and difficult—and of Chemung as a place of general resort for Indians and Tories.—From New Windsor to Wioming he calls 120 Miles.

The accompaning map of the Cayuga, or Teoga branch of the Susquehannah, is laid down by guess from an acct. in Br. Genl. Hands letter of the 31st. March 1779—as given to him by an old Gentn. of Northampton County in Pensa. who formerly lived at Chemung—but had not been in that country for 23 years.

	Miles	
From Teoga to Chemung...	15	From Grr. Poosica to a huntg.
Goughpeehan.....	15	Cabbin on Alligany. 3 days
Sinsing.....	25	thence to Kittaning. 3 Do.
little Poosica.....	8	From gr. Poosica to the
Great Poosica.....	27	waters of Alligany. 12 miles
	——	Thence along do. to French
In all to gr. Poosica.....	90	creek*.....30 days
Seneca terr. lake.....	30	The Country from Teoga is in
	——	genl. level up to gr. Poosica
	120	—also across to Alligany

*This must be a mistake—the distance to Fr. Ck. must be greatr.

John Lord—now in Sussex Goal—his account of the way to Niagara &c.

From Chemung he went up the N. E. branch of Teoga (Cayuga) to a ridge 12 miles over; and thence to a Town at the fork of Chenessie in 4 days thro a dry and tolerably level Country except the ridge which divided the waters of Susquehanna from those of Chenessie.—From Chenessie to Niagara he travelled in 4 days more thro a very wet and swampy Country.—He says Teoga (Cayuga) is navigable for canoes to the ridge which divides it from Chenessie.—From Niagara he came along the lake Ontario 80 miles to the mouth of a Creek called Gerudeger (the same probably which Evans in his map calls Niederundaguat)—Thence 10 or 12 M. up the Creek in a Batteau, where he landed and marched in two days (thro a small town) to Conasadaga—Thence in one day he marched to the Cayuga lake where there is a large stragling settlement; he crossed the lake in a boat—three miles over—marched one day along the lake to near a large Town

which is 4 miles from the lake—From the head of this lake he marched to the mouth of Owegy Creek (20 miles above Chemung) in two days.—He says that the Country from Gerundiger Creek to the lake is level, and from the lake to Susquehannah more hilly.

Shawna John—of the 6th Pensa. Regt. is well acquainted with all this Country—gives a good acct. of it—and if he is to be depended upon will be a good guide & a useful person.—see his sketch of ye. Country.

John Jenkins—a volunteer in Captn. Spauldings Company.—gives the following acct.

That in December 1777 he was taken Prisoner at Wyalusing and carried first to Chemung an Indian Town on the Cayuga branch of the Susquehannah—12 miles from Teoga at the mouth of the said branch.—The Country tolerably level—dry—& open between the two places.

Chemung is a large Town inhabited by Indians of different tribes, & a good deal resorted to by Tories.—he can form no

just estimate of the number of Inhabitants at this place but conceives there may be abt. 40 or 50 Houses some of which are near 30 feet in length.—

From hence to the next Town (on Cayuga) called Newtown, is ten miles, through much the same kind of Country and woods as that last mentioned.—This town contains 25 Houses.

From hence to French Catherine's town is about 20 miles through level dry & open woods—after marching 5 miles left the Cayuga branch to westward. Catherina's Town lyes on the waters of the Conasedaga lake and abt. 3 miles So. of it.—This lake is said to be abt. 40 Miles in length and more than one in width—Catharina's Town contains abt. 30 Houses inhabited by Senecas.

Thence along the Eastside of the Conasedaga lake (keeping within sight of it) to a Town called Kindoi 25 miles from French Catherina's—abt. 15 houses in this place.—Country level and dry—woods something closer.

From Kindoi to the Canasadaga Castle (at the No. end of the lake of that name) is abt. 25 miles along the side there of—about 70 or 80 Houses and a block house of hewed logs at this place inhabited by Senecas.

From Conasedaga to the next Seneca Town is abt. 25 miles 7 or 8 of which is wet—the whole level.—about 40 Houses.—

From hence to the Indian Towns on what he calls the Chenessie River, but distinguished in Evans map by the name of Kaskunxie on the Seneca River, is abt. 40 Miles, through a level open Country. In this distance several smaller Towns consisting upon an average of abt. 8 or 10 houses are passed.—There are several pretty large towns on this River—both sides of it—the water of which is too deep to ford and about 18 or 20 Rods over.—

From these Towns to Niagara is abt. 100 Miles, through a very level and wet country covered with beach, hemlock, and Maple.—A passage at all Seasons through which would be very difficult with carriages.

He arrived at Niagara in Decr. and left it the 25th of April, during which time he was held in close confinement.—but affirms nevertheless, that next the lake and River, the Fort is enclosed with no more than a single row of Pallisades—The River he says is abt. 3 qrs. of a mile wide—the west side (abt. 40 rod from the

water) is higher than the Fort.—Three armed vessels upon lake Ontario; one of 18, one of 16, and one of 8 Guns wch. generally lye in the River abt. 80 rod above the Fort.—At the time he was at Niagara the garrison was commanded by a Lt. Colo. Bolton of the 8th Regiment and consisted of abt. 200 Regulars and 60 or 70 Tories.—A few Indn. constantly coming and going.—

After his Exchange and leaving Niagara on the 25th of April he returned by the same rout he went till he came to the Conasedaga Lake and Town.—Thence to Fort Schuyler by the way of Onendaga, Oneida &c. as follows.

To a Seneca Town abt. 12 miles distant from Conasadaga through a dry and level Country abt. 15 or 20 houses in it.—

Thence 30 miles through a dry and level Country, but pretty thick timbered to a lake (supposed to be one of the Cayuga lakes) about half a mile wide—on both sides of which are a few Indian houses.—

From hence by the head of another lake (Cayuga) abt. 35 miles to the Onondago castle, ten miles of which next the Cary mountainous; impassable for Carriages—This is a scattering town but must contain at least 100 Houses lying at [not clear]

From hence to the next town is abt. 20 miles—the Country pretty open and good—about 20 Houses in it.

From hence to the Oneida Castle abt. ten miles only; country open and good, but timber thick.—

And from hence to Fort Schuyler the distance is 16 miles.—

The Rout from Chemung to Conasedaga and from thence to Niagara by the way of Chenessie—and from Conasedaga to Fort Schuyler by the way of Onandaga, is only by Indian Paths, their being no other Road.—Nor is there any waters except the Chenessie that can impede the march of Troops in the distance above described except the passage on the lake (called here the Cayuga lake).—From French Catherine's Town there is a nearer way to Chenessie, on the west side of the Onondaga lake—but he thinks there are no Indian Settlements on that side.—The Cayuga Indians must, it is conceived lye between the Rout and the Susquehannah.—

See Jenkins's sketch of the Country.

SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE[1]

1st What kind of navigation is it between Pittsburg and Venango?—

(1) The navigation very good for Boats of five or six Tons—The distance is abt. 110 miles—

2d How much above Venango does this navigation extend? and of what kind is it?—

(1) The navigation from Venango up the Alligany River good for at least 100 miles. two Indian Vills. in that Distance.

3d How far is it from ye. head of this navigation to the Indian Towns?—particularly those of ye. Senecas?

(1) About one hundred miles from the head of the navigation of the Alligany to the Seneca Towns on the Seneca River runing into Lake Ontario.

4th What kind of a country is it to pass thro?—Is it hilly, or level?—swampy, or otherwise?

(1) The Country in general is level with many large glades—a good pack horse path into the six nation Country.—

5th How far is it from the head of the navigation of the Alligany to ye. head of the navigation of the Cayuga branch of the Susquehanna?

(1) The distance not known, tho supposed to be from 80 to ninety miles.—

6th What kind of a Communication is it across? Is there any road or Path leading from the one to the other?

(1) The path suitable for pack Horses thro' level Land—the distance not known.

7th Supposing a body of Troops were to proceed from Fort Pitt against the hostile tribes of the six Nations by what Rout would they advance? and what would be the distance to go?—

(1) Up the Ohio or Allegany River.

8th What Towns or Settlements in this Rout would they first meet with?—

(1) There are two Indian Towns about 50 or 60 Miles above Venango inhabited by Senecas—

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[1]Note: There is no information as to who supplied the answers under "(1)". *Ed.*

9th How far is it from these Towns to the Head of the navigation on the Cayuga branch of the Susquehanna?—and how far also —(from them) to the Fort Niagara?—and what sort of a Country to pass through to both?

(1) About 150 miles from Shamong to Niagara—through a level Country—there was formerly a good pack horse road—

10th What Settlements of the Six Nations are most accessable from ye. Susquehanna?—By what rout are they to be approached? and how far do they lye from Teoga?

(1) A Town called Shamong abt. 10 miles above Tioga on the Cayuga branch—to be approached either by Land or Water—from Shamung you may proceed by Land to Catherines Town on the waters of Lake Ontario near a Lake called Cayuga.

11th Is it the Cayuga Branch that runs up to the Indian Settlement?—How far can you, or ought you to go up this Branch by water?—How far from thence to the nearest Indian Towns?—What Indians Inhabit them?—and what kind of a Country is it to pass through?

(1) Shamong a considerable Indian settlement lyes on the Cayuga Branch. the navigation good to Sd Town & no further up—from Shamong to the next Indian town called Catherines Town abt. — miles. inhabited by Cayugas, Senecas and others. the Country level and suitable for pack horses—if not for waggons—

12th How far is it from these Towns to Niagara & what sort of a Country between?[1]

13th What number of warriors is supposed to be in the hostile tribes of the Six Nations?—

(1) The six nations and their depends. can bring three thousand men into the field especially in their own Country—

14th Can artillery be transported to their settlements with any degree of propriety and ease?

(1) Artillery may be transported by Land from Shamong thro' the whole Six Nation Settlements in that Quarter—submitting to a little expense in Road cutting—

[1]No answer recorded. *Ed.*

15th Are there any Roads or ways leading from the Susquehanna, or west branch thereof to the Alligany at or above Wenango? —what is the distance across?—and what kind of a Country to pass?

(1) There is a good Horse path from the Canon place near the head of the west branch of Susquehannah to Wenango formerly much used by the Indian Traders —the distance is about 80 miles—

16th Can people be hired to go into the Indian Country—visit the different Towns—obtain sufficient knowledge of their situation—strength—and designs?—ascertaining at the same time the distances from place to place, and from each place to the navigable waters of the Susquehanna—Alligany—and Seneca River (which empties itself at Oswega)

(1) People can be had for the several purposes mentioned in this Question.

VII

The Forgotten Campaign of 1778

It is not generally known that the first campaign against the Six Nations was planned for 1778. It was based on advice and information gathered by Washington from men like Schuyler, George Clinton, Hand and many others. Had it been carried out, it would have started from Albany and moved up the Mohawk River to Fort Stanwix. From that stronghold the army would have been divided into two parts. One would have taken Fort Oswego, and then proceeded westward by water to Irondequoit. The other would have marched westward, through the territory of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, and joined the first army at Irondequoit. From there the combined armies would have gone by land and water to capture Niagara. While the main campaign was in progress a small force starting from Tioga was to follow the route taken the next year by Sullivan into the Seneca Country and there join the main army. General Gates, who was in command of the Northern Department, would have been asked to lead the campaign.

There can be no doubt that this campaign of 1778 was seriously planned against Detroit and the hostile Six Nations. Congress on June 11, 1778, voted $932,743 to have it carried out. On July

25, 1778, Congress ordered the movement against Detroit "deferred" but directed that the expedition against the Six Nations and the Tories to be "forwarded with all possible despatch." Preparations were hastened but by the time it might have been started the season was so far advanced that on the advice of Schuyler, Hand and General James Clinton, it was postponed by Congress on September 3 until the next year.

Had the project of 1778 been executed, one wonders what the outcome would have been. Would Gates have assumed the leadership? Would it have been more successful than the enterprise of 1779? Would Oswego and Niagara have been captured? Would the Indian country have been so completely demolished?

VIII

Plan of the Campaign of 1779

The plan of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779 was an emphatic modification of that agreed upon for 1778. The main drive was shifted from the Mohawk to the Susquehanna. The expedition into the Onondaga country became a secondary instead of a primary movement; and the seizure of Fort Oswego dropped out of the project. But it was not definitely decided until early in the summer of 1779 that General James Clinton should march from the Mohawk down the Susquehanna to join Sullivan at Tioga, Pa., instead of moving directly westward to meet him at what is now Geneva. This uncertainty is clearly shown in the following letter from Washington to Clinton.

Head Quarters Smiths Clove June 10 1779

Sir,

I have received your two favours of the 28th of May and 6th of June—

I hope before this you will have received instruction from General Sullivan respecting the precise line of conduct you are to observe. Whether your destination shall be up the Mohock River or to form a junction in the first instance with the main body at the head of Susquehannah is a point I have left to him to decide and to give you directions accordingly. But as the preparations on the Susquehannah are completed and the main body all in motion towards Wyoming; it is essential you should be ready to move either way at the shortest notice. Should there be any delay on your part when you are required to commence your operations the consequences may be very disagreeable. I

therefore leave it with you to make whatever additional preparations you find necessary to enable you to comply with a sudden call. The Quarter Master is directed to consult you and execute your orders. The providing teams or pack horses beforehand depends on the ease or difficulty of procuring them in a hurry—I leave it with you to do as you think proper; but I expect that you will be at all points prepared instantly to comply with whatever orders you may receive from General Sullivan for the purpose of a perfect cooperation either way.

With respect to what Col Van Schaick mentions of his being deficient in the means of rewarding the Indians for their services—if he should mean merely a want of money, you will give him a warrant on the Pay Master with you for the necessary sum—if he means articles of Clothing &c. you will be pleased to make an application to The Commissioners of Indian affairs who I can say will do everything in their power to supply him.

It is perfectly agreeable to me that Capt Graham should succeed the vacancy to which he is entitled—You will be pleased to send me a regular certificate specifying the time and manner of the vacancy and that Capt Graham is the oldest Captain in the New York line—This I will transmit to the Board of war that his commission may be made out accordingly; in the meantime his appointment may take place by a brigade order.

Major Popham who I presume was your former Brigade Major may continue with you as Aide De Camp with the same rank and pay—I wish Major Fish's health may permit him to accept the Brigade Inspectorship.

The small lateral movement of troops up the Chemung and into the Seneca region as arranged for 1778 now became the main movement. At the same time a new division from Fort Pitt to the Seneca region was projected.

Thus it will be seen that the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign as planned by Washington for 1779 consisted of the following four parts—two major and two minor:

1 The campaign was to be opened in the spring of 1779 by General James Clinton with an expedition from the upper Mohawk river and Fort Stanwix into the Onondaga country. The purpose of this movement was to free the main line of attack from the possibility of menace by the more easterly tribes of the Six Nations, and thus permit the leaders of the expedition to devote all their attention to the Cayugas and Senecas.

2 After this preliminary drive General James Clinton was to mobilize an army at Canajoharie on the Mohawk and then proceed across New York State southwestward, destroying Indian villages and corn fields as he followed the upper Susquehanna river, down to Tioga, where he was to form a union with the army of General Sullivan.

3 Meanwhile Colonel Daniel Brodhead from Fort Pitt in western Pennsylvania was to ascend the Allegheny river to its headwaters, subduing the Indians and burning their homes as he penetrated their country. He was instructed to keep in touch with General Sullivan and to cross western New York to join him some where in the Seneca region.

4 The main expedition under General Sullivan was to start from Easton, Pa., with the major force, proceed across Pennsylvania to Tioga, and then, after a juncture with General Clinton's army, move up into the Cayuga and Seneca territory. After the power of the Cayugas and Senecas had been broken, the British and Loyalists with them had been defeated, and Colonel Brodhead's reenforcements had arrived, it was hoped that the fort at Niagara might be captured.

IX

The Indian-Tory Side of the Campaign

In the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign the Indians and Loyalists were for the most part on the defensive. They had taken the offensive in the border warfare of 1777 and 1778.

The excursion of Capt. John McDonnell into Pennsylvania and the attack on Minisink by Joseph Brant were the only offensive movements of 1779. Both were intended to intimidate the leaders of the campaign and they were fairly effective.

Through scouts and Loyalists, Brant and Colonel John Butler in 1778 and 1779 were kept informed of the plans for the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. The Red Men were told that the Americans were after their lands. Van Schaick's invasion of the country of the Onondagas afforded an example of the treatment they might expect of the invading foe. One is amazed to see how quickly information of the plans and movements of the Americans reached the British and Loyalist leaders in Western New York.

The following letters, here printed for the first time, show how active the Butlers were in the spring and summer of 1779 in gaining the loyalty of the Indians, and in observing and reporting the activities of the troops in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign:

Niagara Feby. 14th 1779

Sir /

Agreeable to Your Excellency's Desire communicated to me in a letter of the 9th October last I have consulted with the Indians on the expediency of taking post at Irondequat. They think that establishing a Post there would be of no material service in

protecting their Villages from the Enemy, and that Oswego is the only proper place to take Possession of in order effectually to prevent them from coming into their Country. How desirous they are of having this done Your Excellency will see by their Speech addressed to you, a copy of which I send you inclosed, as also a copy of their message to the Western Nations. A great Disadvantage too with Regard to Irondequot is, that it has no Road or Harbour where Vessels can Lay secure.

The Indians in general have given the strongest Assurances that they are determined to the last to persevere in the Part they have taken, and never to come to Terms with the Rebels. The greatest part of the Oneydas, on the other Hand, seem resolved to adhere to the Enemy, who I am informed have sent about Fifty men to Build a small Fort for the Security of their Village. A Garrison at Oswego would probably shake their Resolution, and still more confirm our Friends in the attachment to Government. They seem apprehensive that the Rebels meditate an expedition into their Country this Winter; but such precautions have been used to send out Scouts in every Quarter that it is scarcely possible but what we must have the earliest notice of all their Motions on the Frontiers and I have ordered a large party of the Rangers to be ready immediately to march to their assistance should anything be attempted against them.

Your Excellency will perceive by the inclosed speech that the Indians are not well satisfied at the Hatchet that was sent to them from Canada. Might I advise, I should think it best that no messages were sent immediately from thence (as the distance is so great that it is possible to be acquainted with many circumstances that perhaps might render them unseasonable) but rather that they should be sent through Col Bolton. Most of the Indians have been in to receive their Cloathing and Presents and are returned to their Villages, to all appearance very well satisfied. A number of the Mohawks, Onandagoes & Ochquagoes are to remain here having now no Homes to go to. The Ochquago Village being Burnt by the Rebels and the Villages of the Mohawks situated in the midst of the Enemy.

I shall defer sending Your Excellency the Returns and others relative to the Corps of Rangers, till Capt. Butler goes down, which will be in a few Days.

JOHN BUTLER[1]

[To Gen. Haldimand]

[1]Salutations and closings have been omitted in these letters to save space.

Niagara March 8th 1779

Sir /

You will perceive by the Papers inclosed that the Rebels have their Emissaries at work in every Quarter, and are using every act to intimidate the Indians and draw them over to their side. Part of the Onandagoes are already in their Interest, who wish to bring the rest to be so too; and their sending for those Home who are now here, is only that they may the more easily work upon them for that purpose; and it is my opinion that if they should go we shall lose so many Friends. Your Excellency will see that I have made the absence of some of their Chiefs, who are to go to Conawagaras with an answer to Mr. Clinton's Letter a Pretext for not giving them a positive answer: I am nevertheless resolved not to let the Onandagoes go from [————] or the Belt be sent to the Ohio; & if what I have already said be not sufficient to stop them, I shall use such other means as circumstances may [point] out to be most proper. I have also given an evasive reply to their Request of stopping the Scout, at the same time am determined that it cannot be stopped. As Your Excellency has every particular of this meeting it will be giving you unnecessary Trouble to say anything further of it.

I have sent off a Party, a few Days ago, by the way of Lake Erie to endeavour to bring in a Prisoner from the Rebels at the Tuscarawas and gain some Intelligence of their Designs: another Party is gone towards Fort Stanwix. I was, yesterday told that a Party of the Delawares whom I had sent to Wioming have had a skirmish with some of the Rebels at that place, and have taken three Prisoners and seven scalps, and lost one of their Chiefs. It seems the Rebels have two Forts there one on each side the River. This is reported by an Indian who says he spoke with a Messenger from the Delawares, who is not yet arrived.

* * * * * *

[To Gen. Haldimand] JOHN BUTLER

Niagara April 2nd 1779

Sir /

I send you inclosed a letter from Mr. Hay which I received by yesterday's Express from Detroit. Your Excellency will perceive by its contents that Mr. Hay, when he wrote it, had not at all a favourable opinion of the Friendship of the Indians in that Quarter; and it is to be feared that Governor Hamilton's Disaster will at least make them quite indifferent, if it should be a means even of making them join the Rebels. Whether it will have any influence with the Six Nations it is impossible to say; tho', as affairs are at present situated, I think it not improbable that it may incline them to listen, more than they have hitherto done, to the artful messages which the Rebels are continually sending

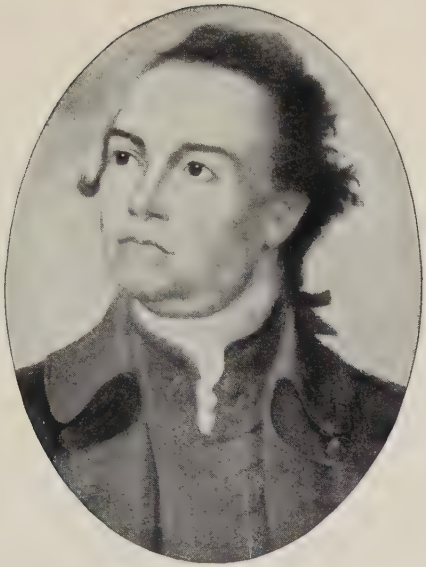
among them. I send Your Excellency herewith the copy of a message which was delivered to the Cayougas at their Village by two Cachnawagoe Indians (the principal one is called Ot,hi, ri, si) in the Name of the Seven Nations of Canada. These are the same two who were at Oneyda at the Council held there between the Oneydas and Onandagoes where they spoke much to the same purpose, an account of this Council I gave Your Excellency in my last. The Cayougas took no notice of their Message nor made them any reply.

In conjunction with the Mohawks & others, I have sent to the Onandagoe Village, to desire those who are still our Friends there, to come off, and bring their Council Fire with them, to some place among the Senecas & Cayougas, there to settle & rekindle their fire; which I expect they will do. Your Excellency may rest assured that I shall do everything in my power to counteract the artifices of the Enemy, & confirm the Indians in their Friendship and attachment to Government.

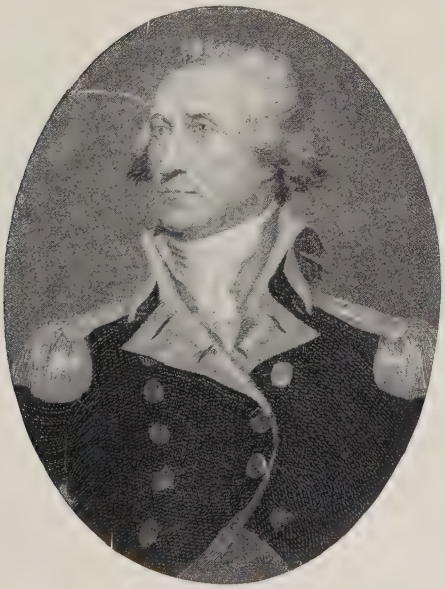
The Senecas, Delawares & others have been very active during the winter: Parties of them have been constantly out all along the Frontiers, and they have had several skirmishes with the Rebels at Wioming, of whom they have killed about Twenty and taken several, with the loss of one man only. There are now between four and five hundred out in different places. Several parties from the Ohio (where I have two Indian officers) are returned and have brought in fourteen Prisoners from below Fort Pitt, one of them from one hundred & twenty miles below it, who, as Lieut. *Docksteder* writes me, says that all the People from that part of the Country were moving down to Lancaster. He further writes that a large Party of Indians (about 200) from about Detroit have been lately at the Tuskarawas, where they took two Prisoners & sixteen scalps; but hearing of some Boats coming up the River, with Provisions for the Garrison, under a guard of one hundred men (fifty on each side of the River) they set off immediately to attack them. What success they have met with is not yet known.

The Chiefs from the Ohio have sent me one of their Prisoners, a Committee Man; he informs that there were about Fifty men in Fort Pitt; does not know the number at Beaver Creek and the Tuskarawas, but says they have been reinforced this Spring, & that the Force intended against Detroit is to be about one thousand men. He likewise says that it was reported that, last Fall, 5000 of the Kings Troops landed in South Carolina, and took Possession of the Sea Ports but were again driven off, after some time, by the Rebels. I daily expect here two men who made their escape from Fort Pitt, & were brought in by some Ohio Indians last Winter.

I have just received Your Excellency Letter of the 25th Decr. & shall punctually observe its contents. I ever have and always shall use my utmost endeavours to restrain the Indians from acts of

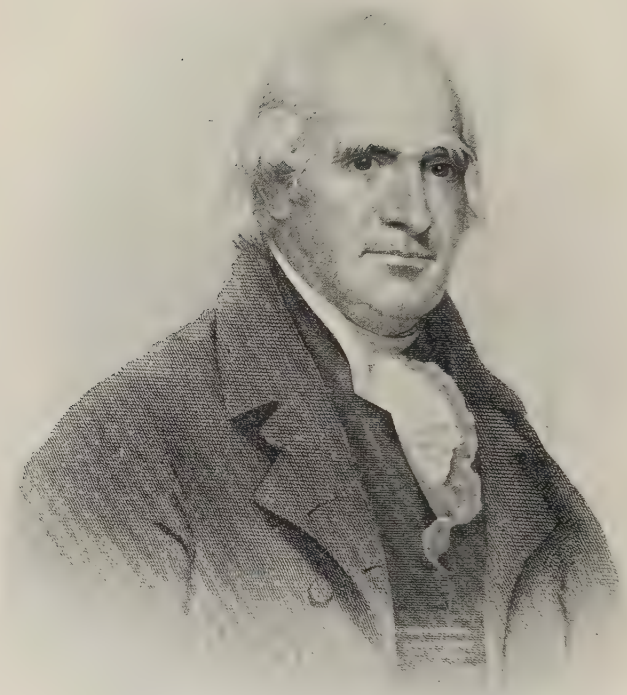


JOHN SULLIVAN
From portrait in State House at Concord, N. H.



(From Trumbull painting)

GEORGE WASHINGTON
Who planned the Campaign



GEORGE CLINTON
Governor of the State of New York

cruelty & indiscriminate vengeance which both as a man & an officer I hold in abhorrence.

Colnl. Bolton informs me that Your Excellency seems to think the allowance of Bounty Money to the Rangers on enlistment rather unreasonable & not agreeable to the Intentions of Genl. Carleton. To satisfy Your Excellency, in regard to this, I inclose you a copy of an account sent to Sir Guy Carleton wherein this allowance is charged, which he never made any objections to.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Gen. Haldimand]

Genessee May 13th 1779

Dear Sir /

Last night I received a letter from Capt. Johnston informing me that a Body of the Rebels were on their way from Albany to make another attempt against the Indians, & that Cayouga is their object—this news was brought him by a Runner from Cayouga, whither the account came by an Indian immediatly from Albany—this Intelligence has been but five days by the way—the Indians are much alarmed at it. I shall march this morning with the Party for Canadasaga, and have sent orders to Capt. McDonald to join me there.—

Yesterday afternoon a prisoner was brought in who lived somewhere about Fort Pitt—he says he saw a Circular Letter from the Congress to the Inhabitants of the Frontiers, to encourage them not to forsake their Settlements—they promise that General Hand shall be sent with three thousand men up the Susquehanna, & General Wane with two regular Regiments & a large Body of Militia up the Allegany River for their Protection—He says they were preparing Boats upon the Allegany, and tells me that the Troops at Beaver Creek & the Tuskarawas were intended only to keep possession of those places and not to proceed any farther. It seems to be the intention of the Rebels to erect a chain of Forts all along their Frontiers—but whatever may be their intention, I think we may safely make considerable Deductions from the Accounts we get of their numbers.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

Niagara 20th May 1779

Sir /

It's some time since my arrival at this Post: before which Major Butler with the Corps had moved towards the Frontiers; the Enemy having made movements which alarm'd the five nations, & from several accounts expected they would invade their Country, both by Fort Stanwix and the River Suskahana—he is at present at Canadasagoe, a Seneka Town on the lower part of the Seneka Lake; and the present Council fire of the five nations, watching the Enemies motions and taking such measures as will best secure the Indian Country and tend to protect the Posts and support the Indians in their Alliance with the Crown. The particulars from him Colonel Bolton will Inform Your Excellency of, having Yesterday an Express from the Major.

Colonel Bolton has thought proper I should, in a few day's, set off for Detroit, with Twenty five Rangers and as many Indians as I can collect on the ground in order to join the Western Indians and Indeavour to Rouse them and Try if no method can be adopted to get them to take an active part—could this be effected I rest assured that in the course of a few months, there will not be a Rebel, in arms, in any part of the Indian Country—thus much I think I can with certainty say, that my Indeavours shall not be wanting—

Could I prevail on Joseph Brant to accompany me, with but a few of the five nations, I flatter myself, much might be done—I have mentiond the matter to him he seems very willing; and I have no reason to doubt, that after Colonel Bolton has shewn him the utility of his Service there, he will cheerfully go. * * *

Walter Butler

[To Gen. Haldimand]

Canadasago June 5th 1779

Sir /

The Alarm we had here the 1st Inst which gave us the trouble of going to Cayouga proved to be without Foundation; The Report of the Enemy's advancing was occasioned by some Tracks that had been observed by some of the Indians, who took it for granted that they were those of an Enemy, and set the whole Country in motion:

I have sent Aaron & David with two Parties down to the Mohawk River; they mean to go very low down & bring off a Prisoner that will be able to give us some certain Intelligence of what the Rebels are doing. The Messisaugoes are gone with them. Lieut. H. Hare is with the one Party & young Mr. Johnston with the other, & a few of the Rangers.

I sent off the two Messengers from General Clinton, last Thursday with the following note.

Indian Country June 3rd 1779

Sir

Your note of 21st of April came safe. Reinforcements have been sent to Detroit which 'tis hoped will be sufficient to baffle the Designs of the Enemy against that Place.

The Messengers have been detained since the 15th ult°. the Reasons of which they will acquaint you with, as also the Spirit & Temper of the Indians in this Quarter & their message to your Excellency.

J. B.

[To Gen. Henry Clinton]

The Indians desired them to acquaint Genl Clinton that they were still firm Friends & meant to continue so; that from the accounts they had of his Numbers being much increased they were in Hopes that he would this Summer assist them in opening the ancient Road and Communications between them and their Father the King; that they had their Spies upon the Mountains, and as soon as the noise of his guns was heard, would Endeavour to cut their way to him.

The Provisions I have been able to collect in the Country is almost expended & we have not more at present than will last us a day, or two at the most. I have sent out Mr. Pawling in quest of Cattle but it is uncertain whether he will get any; at any rate he will not be able to get many, so that it will neither be possible for us to go further on, nor yet to remain here much longer, unless I can get more Cattle than I have any prospect of at present.— When the Scouts return I shall send you a particular account of what Intelligence they bring, from which perhaps you will be able to judge whether it will be necessary for the Rangers to remain longer in this Country or not.

Captain Butler's going out towards Presqu'Isle and Vaningo may probably be of service as I make no doubt but he will be joined by many Indians from the Ohio; but it will be necessary for him to have Provisions & Amunition as well for the Indians who will join him, which 'tis likely will be an hundred or more, as for those who go with him from Niagara. The Indians here would immediately send Parties that way, if they were certain the Enemy were not making preparations to attack them, and have sent to encourage their Brethern in that Quarter to be Vigilant and Active.

Nine of the People brought in by Mr. Ferris are Germans belonging to some of the Regiments that were taken with General Burgoyne; I would be glad to know in what manner to act in regard to them, and whether you think it will be necessary for them to be sent in that they may go to Canada.

I shall be obliged soon to send for more Amunition, as we had not Enough to supply all the Indians, who from the scarcity of Provisions consume more of it than ordinary, by firing at every little Bird they see.

JOHN BUTLER

P.S.—The Indians from Canada leave this tomorrow to return Home. They have asked for some Clothing & a pair of shoes for each of them, that they may appear decent as they have worn out what they brought with them; they likewise ask for four Gallons of Rum to take with them on board the Vessel which I think it will be proper to give them. The Oneydas have refused to meet them as they desired, & they are now returning with the sentiments of the Five Nations to communicate them to their own People.—J.B.

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

The effects of Van Schaick's attack on the Onondagas are seen in the following letters:

Canadasaga May 21st 1779

Dear Sir/

I yesterday evening received yours of the 13th inst: by Mr. Johnston: I believe it will, at present, be impossible to get the Ensign releas'd. I shall try however when I come among the Cayougas to whom he belongs—I believe I can get as many Horses among the Indians as will be wanted, but as, for oxen I cannot promise.

Two of Joseph's Friends, an Oneyda and Cayouga, who are just returned from Oneyda inform me that the Rebels, who were on their march towards Fort Stanwix, were recalled, & all the Troops upon the Mohawk River immediately ordered down to Albany: they say the Oneydas are much discontented at the Behaviour of the Rebels towards the Onandagoes who had promised to join them, & threaten'd to act with the rest of their Brethren against them if they do not release those they have taken Prisoners. A small Scout of Oneydas sent out for Oswegatchie fifteen days ago, & another for Carleton Island six days ago. There are no further accounts since my last. The Party are in general well & in spirits, & we march to day for Canadasago; I shall there consult with the Chiefs: & if they find there is no danger from this Quarter, hope to prevail upon them to send large parties to harrass the Rebels round about Fort Pitt & the other Posts in that part of the Country—If Capt. Butler is still at Niagara, there will be no necessity of his hurrying himself to join me.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Lt. Colonel Bolton]

Canadasago May 28th 1779

Sir /

I was honored with Your Excellencys Letters of the 8th & 18th of April, and the Speeches to the Oneydas and the five nations in the Indian Country, & shall not fail to observe all the Directions therein contained—Colln Bolton has doubtless acquainted Your Excellency with the occasion of my leaving Niagara & every thing material that has since occurred. The Alarm spread among the Indians by the Destruction of Onandago made it highly necessary for me to march immediately into their Country, and my appearing with the Rangers amongst them has had a very good effect. The prospect of a Force at Oswego makes them very happy, and I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency that they seem as much disposed as ever to exert themselves against the Rebels: they are constantly going out in Parties all along their Frontiers, even as far up as Fort Pitt & beyond it, & seldom fail of success in their Excursions, so that it is probable the Frontier Settlements will be almost intirely broken up. It is probable that the affair of Onandago will serve further to confirm the Indians in their Attachment to Government, as the People Killed & taken at that place were chiefly in the Rebel Interest. I shall, at least, endeavour to derive every advantage from it which it will give me, for that Purpose.

I am very sorry I had not an opportunity of seeing Captain Brehm & receiving from him the Directions Your Excellency mentions he was charged to communicate to me. He did not arrive at Niagara until some Time after I had left it.

Captain McDonald of my Corps is also Lieutenant in the Royal Emigrants, he has received a letter from the Major of that Regiment, that if he does not immediately join it he will probably be superseded. As he is a spirited, prudent officer, and the Indians very fond of him, and he is now with me, the Service would suffer were he to leave this at present: I hope therefore Your Excellency will permit him to remain during the Summer, without its being of any Detriment to Him in regard of his Commission in the Emigrants which he cannot think of giving up. The Indians having been informed that he was to go down to Canada, have requested as a particular Favor, that Your Excellency would allow him to stay this Summer at least.

I have no particular accounts at present to acquaint Your Excellency with, but hourly expect some by the Scouts I have out.

John Butler

[To General Haldimand]

Canadasaga May 28th 1779

Sir /

Captain Butler informs me that it is your wish to have some of the Chiefs of the six nations sent with a Belt & Speech to their Western Bretheren to rouse & encourage them to act with vigour against the Rebels. I shall propose it to Skiangarachta and the great men, and endeavour to have it done as soon as possible.

I have got the Families of the Onandagoes, that have escaped, to settle in the different Villages among the Senecas to plant their Corn &c. but have been obliged to promise them that I would desire of you to let them have a little Provisions to help to support themselves in the mean time; I have given them papers expressing the number of each Family: tho' I know the importance of the article of Provision, & how ill it can be spared, I could not avoid doing this, as they have not been able to bring off a single thing with them, & we cannot let them starve.

Captain McDonald has received a Letter from the Major of his Regiment signifying, that unless he joins it soon he will probably be superseded. His leaving this, at present, will really be a detriment to the Service, & it cannot be expected that he will sacrifice his Rank in the Army: I would therefore beg of you to mention it to the General, that he may be permitted to remain here this Summer without its interfering with his other views. I have myself wrote to the General on the subject, and if my request be backed by you I make no doubt but he will agree to it. The Indians are very fond of Captain McDonald, & upon being told that he was going down the Country, have particularly requested that His Excellency would allow him to stay.

Inclosed is the Speech which the Indians here have agreed upon to send to their Bretheren to the Westward. As some of their People who are now at Niagara and Joseph are going to Detroit, they think it will answer the same purpose to have it sent by them, as tho' they sent any of their Chiefs with it immediately from them. You will receive the Belt that is to accompany it along with this—

This Evening came in an Indian who left Oneyda four days ago; just before he left it he says there came in some Indians who had been at Albany to endeavour to get the Onandagoes released; they brought accounts that fifty Battoes were come to Fort Stanwix with spades, Pick-axes &c. that there were great numbers of Troops at Albany and Schenectady, & that it was given out that they intended an expedition against Niagara; and that at the same time a Body of men from the Susquehanna were to march into the Indian Country. Tho' there is no great confidence to be put in many reports that the Indians bring in, I think it necessary to make you acquainted with them, & in the mean time shall take such precautions that it will be next to impossible for any Body of men to advance beyond Fort Stanwix, or make any

movement on the Susquehanna without being made acquainted with it almost immediately. I have made no mention of this news to The General as my Letter to him was closed before the Account came in.

Mr. Ferris has this day joined me with Ten more Recruits. He informs me that Mr. Wood whom I sent out likewise a Recruiting, has been across the North River and has raised about Seventy men, & that I may expect them here in a few days. These People are very bare of Cloathing & Necessaries which is the principal Reason of my sending to Niagara for these Things. I shall send as quick as possible to Carleton Island to let the Commanding officer know this account from the Rebels.

JOHN BUTLER

P.S.—The Rebels have refused to release the Onandagoes.

June 1st

Early this morning arrived a Runner with the News that a Body of the Enemy were advancing, and it is thought will be before night at Cayouga: I am preparing with all Dispatch to go and meet them and hope to be able to give a good account of them notwithstanding the Scouts I had out, the Oneydas have found means to bring them by such a Route that they were not discovered till they were within little more than a Days march of Cayouga.

J. B.

[To Lieut Colo. Bolton]

Dear Sir /

The Bearer who is just come from the Mohawk River, informs me that the Party who destroyed the Onandaga Village returned immediately to Fort Stanwix carrying with them about thirty Onandagoes & five or six Cayouga women & children. About 400 men had come up from Albany, probably to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Stanwix who with 300 more from the Fort were the People that did the mischief. It does not appear that they have been near Oswego—It is now fifteen days since he came from Canojohary; he was informed, he says, by some friends to Government, that it was reported the Rebels intended to send three &c. at Wyoming: and I am told by a Prisoner, brought in last Sunday, taken seven days before that at the German Flats, that the Rebels at Lake Otsego have been damming up the Lake, & endeavouring by every method to raise the water sufficiently to the Creek that leads into the Susquehanna to float their Boats. Captain Butler writes me the 29th inst. that a Runner came to him from Canawagaras informing that a Party of Indians have lately been at or near Fort Pitt, & found (as they say) at a Place called Otego by

them, by us Pine-Creek, about 25 miles from Fort Pitt; a large Body of the Rebels: they heard Cannon & believe they are fixing a Post & then mean to come on.

The Enemy must I should imagine have laid aside their Designs against Detroit, if they really mean to come into the Indian-Country in this Quarter, and that they will I think is beyond a doubt, should not General Clinton's success be such as to prevent them. In this case if Captain McDonnell is not able to drive off a great quantity of Cattle, & we cannot be largely supplied with Provisions from Niagara, I do not know what may be the consequences, as it will be impossible without this to maintain any number of People together. The situation this country is in with regard to Provisions, I have already fully stated to you.

I dispatched Mr. Lottridge the 27th ult. agreeably to what I mentioned in my last; he has a few of the Rangers with him and 18 Indians; I gave him directions to touch at Carleton Island and Endeavour to get some Messisaugoes to join him. He has my instructions also if he succeeds in bringing off any of the Oneydas, to return to the Island & there wait for further directions from either you or myself; if he should take any of them, I think it would be proper to have them sent Prisoners to Canada; this will lay them under the same restraint, the Rebels have upon the Onandagoes; or else produce an open rupture between them and the Six Nations, which may end in the destruction of that mischievous nest which has given us so much trouble.

Mr. Clement returned yesterday; the three Indians who were with him spoke to an Onandago, who informed them, that he was lately told at Albany, that a messenger from Genl. Clinton had been taken with a Letter from him to the six-nations, acquainting them that an expedition was forming against them by the Rebels, & advising them to be upon their guard; if this be true it serves further to confirm what I mentioned above.

Mr. Service set off to day with a large Party for the German Flats—

John Butler

P.S.—A Prisoner just arrived reports, that the Rebels are still at Otsego; their numbers are, some say 4000, others say 1500, all Continental Troops Commanded by Genl. Clinton, they are waiting for Provisions, & have been sometime employed in Damming up the Lake to make the Creek passable for their Boats if possible.

To Col. Bolton

OBITUARIES

James Benjamin Wilbur, of Manchester, Vt., died suddenly of heart disease April 28, 1929, at the hotel in New York where he had been staying since he returned from Europe the previous week. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 11, 1856, the son of James Benjamin and Loretta (Welch) Wilbur, and attended the public schools in that city.

Mr. Wilbur was cashier of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company from 1876 to 1882, and from 1885 to 1890 he was engaged in banking and ranching in Colorado. He organized in 1891, and until 1909 was president of the Royal Trust Company of Chicago, which later was merged with the Central Trust Co. of Illinois, whereupon Mr. Wilbur retired and settled at Manchester, Vt. He made his estate into an extensive dairy and sheep farm and here he bred and raised some of the finest Ayrshire cattle and Hampshiredown sheep in this country.

Mr. Wilbur was actively interested in local and State-wide enterprises, and was one of the pioneer workers for hard-surface highways in Vermont. His greatest interest, however, was in the realm of history. He had what was probably the largest and best collection extant of old Vermont books and papers. Through his study of Ira Allen, he became greatly interested in the University of Vermont, founded by that patriot, and in 1924 he erected the Ira Allen Chapel at the University as a memorial to its founder.

In 1925 Mr. Wilbur gave $100,000 as an endowment to the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board, created by act of Congress for the receipt and administration of gifts intended to further the acquisition of source material for the study of history. In January, 1928, he gave $100,000 to the American Antiquarian Society towards its endowment fund.

Mr. Wilbur was the author of "Life of Ira Allen (1751–1814), Founder of Vermont," 1928, and was also editor of "Contrast," a comedy of 1789 in five acts, 1920. He had been active for many years in having letters and documents pertaining to American history reproduced and placed in the Library of Congress. The University of Vermont conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Letters.

Mr. Wilbur was a trustee of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board, the University of Vermont, the American Antiqua-

rian Society, and the New York Historical Society. He was a member of Massachusetts Historical Society, Union League and New York Yacht Clubs of New York, the Metropolitan Club of Washington, the Chicago Club of Chicago, and the Union Club of Boston.

On April 6, 1880, he married Miss Carrie B. Hurd of Brooklyn. She died about twelve years ago. He is survived by one son, James Benjamin Wilbur, Jr., and also two sisters.

Charles C. Allen, of Schuylerville, died May 9, 1929. He was stricken while addressing the student body of the Schuylerville High School, and passed away almost instantly, a victim of heart trouble.

He was born in the town of Easton, January 28, 1863, the son of James B. and Cordelia M. (Becker) Allen. After removing to Schuylerville, he was employed by an insurance company of which he later became treasurer. In 1902 he purchased the *Schuylerville Standard*, a weekly newspaper, and was editor and publisher for a number of years.

Long interested in politics, Mr. Allen served as Republican Committeeman from District 1, Town of Saratoga, for some time. He was also a member of the Saratoga County Board of Supervisors for two terms prior to his appointment by President Harding in 1923 as postmaster at Schuylerville. While holding this position he devoted much time and energy to improving the mail service and was instrumental in obtaining the present fine location for the office. He was reappointed for a second term by President Coolidge.

Mr. Allen was always a leader in any movement for civic betterment, and was an indefatigable worker for the success of the Saratoga Battlefield celebration in October 1927. He also had charge of the historical celebration in Schuylerville in July, 1926, which served as a prelude to the Saratoga celebration. As Supervisor he did much for Memorial Park and for the erection of the memorial bridge there. It was largely through his efforts that the monument to the World War Veterans was placed in Memorial Park, and he was a prime mover in the campaign which resulted in the construction of the state road up to the battle monument. During the World War, Mr. Allen served as a member of the Exemption Board for his district, having been appointed by President Wilson.

In addition to his membership in St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Mr. Allen was a member of Schuyler Lodge 676, F. and A. M., and Home Chapter 176, R. A. M. of Schuylerville, and Calvary Commandery, Knights Templar, of Hudson Falls. He was charter member of Star of the Hudson Chapter O. E. S.

Besides his wife he is survived by one daughter, Mrs. Bessie B. Burton of Schuylerville, and a son, Theron J. Allen of Utica.

Frank Dudley Corse, founder of the Corse Press and its executive head for more than forty years, died at his home in Sandy Creek, N. Y., on May 14, 1929, following a short illness.

Mr. Corse was born at Buck's Bridge, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., September 16, 1859, the son of Rev. Albert Ezra and Ellen (Spencer) Corse. The Corse family is an old and distinguished one in this country, tracing descent from James Corse who settled in Deerfield, Mass., where he died in 1696. Rev. Albert Corse was pastor of Methodist churches in many New York towns, loved and respected wherever he went. He was Presiding Elder of Oswego District from 1868 to 1873, and of Herkimer District for the next five years. Frank Dudley Corse attended the public schools of Oswego and Ilion, and in 1884 was graduated from Syracuse University.

In 1885 Mr. Corse acquired the *Sandy Creek News*, which under his efficient management not only grew in size but in circulation and built up a wide reputation of more than local extent by the many excellent features which he incorporated and the high standards which he constantly maintained. In addition he established and directed a printing press service of the kind usually found only in the largest cities, printing catalogues, magazines and books for distribution in all parts of the United States.

In the community in which he made his home he gave hearty support to all worthy movements whether civic or benevolent. For some time he was president of the village, a member of the local fire department, and an active member of the Board of Education. He was also Justice of the Peace for a number of years. He was the moving spirit in securing the fine up-to-date water system for the village and long served on the Board of Water Commissioners. He held a prominent place in the Methodist Episcopal Church, serving as church treasurer and trustee,

a member of the official board and teacher of a large organized Sunday School class. He was honored by his fellow-journalists with several terms as President of the Northern New York Press Association.

On October 4, 1888, Mr. Corse married Ella Bernice Nichols at Sandy Creek. She died in 1897, leaving an infant son, Spencer, who lived only until 15 years of age. On August 3, 1898, Mr. Corse married Carrie Sarah Norton, daughter of John Fletcher Norton of Sandy Creek. Besides his wife, he is survived by one daughter, Ellen Harriet, now Mrs. William J. Potter, Jr., of Sandy Creek, N. Y.

Dr. Stuart Close who had practiced medicine in Brooklyn since 1885, and was widely known as a lecturer and contributor to medical journals, died at his home in Brooklyn on June 26, 1929.

Stuart Close was born at Oakfield, Wis., November 24, 1860, the son of David and Sophronia (Wells) Close, and a great-great-grandson of William McConkey of McConkey's Ferry on the Delaware at the time when Washington made his famous crossing of that river. He attended the University of California in San Francisco, and the New York Homeopathic Medical College, receiving his M. D. in 1885. He was interne specializing in homeopathic therapeutics, and from 1909 to 1913 he was Professor of Homeopathic Philosophy at the New York Homeopathic Medical College. He also served as consulting physician at Prospect Heights Hospital, Brooklyn, 1925 to 1928.

Dr. Close was editor of the department of homeopathic philosophy of *The Homeopathic Recorder* from 1920 to 1927, and the author of "The Genius of Homeopathy," published in 1924, and a number of lectures and essays on homeopathic philosophy. He was a founder of the Brooklyn Hahnemannian Union in 1896, and in 1906 was President of the International Hahnemannian Association. He was a member of the American Institute of Homeopathy, the National Historical Society, Long Island Historical Society, Sons of the American Revolution, Riding and Driving Club, and the Brooklyn Canoe Club.

On April 21, 1885, Dr. Close was married to Evangeline L. Lewis of Boston, Mass. Besides his wife, he is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Ralph Kirkman and Miss Elizabeth Stuart Close, and one son, Bernard Wells Close.

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Vol. VI. Edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK. (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1928. xiv + 789 pp.)

As volume after volume of the *Papers of Sir William Johnson* appears, their national scope becomes self-evident, and the widening power and influence of the great Indian Commissioner is apparent. Present plans call for ten volumes, the last to contain a complete index and such supplementary papers as may have been found since the printing of the earlier volumes. Fortunately, Professor Carter's discovery in England of upwards of twenty thousand papers belonging originally to General Gage, came early enough, so that about one hundred hitherto unknown Johnson letters can be included in the series. Additional Johnson papers will continue to appear from time to time, but their number will, doubtless, be relatively small because the search of the editors has been assiduous. The chief sources have been the following: New York State Library, New York City Library, Harvard University Library, Library of Congress, Canadian Archives, British Museum, and the Public Record Office. A much-needed modern biography of Sir William Johnson, which is being prepared by Professor Stevens of Dartmouth College, will admirably supplement the *Papers.*

The documents in Volume VI cover the years 1768 and 1769, when Johnson's influence had about reached its zenith. The treaty of Fort Stanwix holds the center of interest; of the many important letters relating to it, one of the most striking is George Croghan's (p. 127) with its remarkable spelling. Its accurate reproduction is typical of the editorial work. The advance shadows of the Revolution are clearly apparent in Lord Gordon's letter (p. 336), *wherein he tells of arranging his business affairs in America in expectation of war and of his dread of the day when duty might call him to fight America.* Johnson's budget for the Northern District of the Indian Department (p. 340) reflects the abandonment of an ambitious imperial program; doubtless, the fact that his salary was increased from £600 to £1000 made it easier for him to resign himself to severe retrenchment in his department. The importance attached to the establishment of an Anglican episcopate during these years is well presented in the letters from Samuel Auchmuty (pp. 414, 455, 542).

Among the other topics discussed in this volume are the insatiable land speculation; the organization of the New York militia; copper-mining near Lake Superior; the settlement of the long-standing dispute over the Kayaderosseras land patent; and Anglican-Indian missions and the difficulty of supplying rectors to frontier communities. The pages are filled with letters to and from such leaders as General Gage, Lord Shelburne, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Johnson, Joseph Galloway, Thomas and John Penn, Governors Moore and Sharpe, Dr. William Smith, Philip Schuyler, Alexander McKee, and George Croghan.

Relevant documents already printed elsewhere, are not reprinted, but references to them are given. The Introduction is so excellent that one wishes that its length had been doubled. The footnotes are helpful; their number might have been increased. It would have been desirable to have included the dates, 1768–69, on the outside of the volume and to have omitted the subtitle, "Post War Period." A high standard is set by the maps and illustrations; the typographical work and binding are all that could be desired. The *Papers of Sir William Johnson* when completed will be a credit to the State of New York.

A. T. Volwiler[1]

Colonel William Smith and Lady. By Katherine Metcalf Roof. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1929. Pp. 347. $5.)

For many Americans, acquaintance with Colonel William Smith has come a century and a half after the American Revolution with the publication of this delightful and authentic biography. One of our minor heroes, he deserves to be known and through this volume will be.

Born in 1755, the eldest son of a prosperous New York merchant, a Princeton graduate and a student of law, he was carried off his feet by the War of Independence and entered the profession of arms. At the Battle of Long Island he was a major under Gen. John Sullivan. He assisted Washington in his masterly retreat and was promoted in 1777 to lieutenant colonel. He served as Adjutant General under Gen. Lafayette and in 1779 was with Gen. John Sullivan on the Indian Campaign, as lieutenant colonel

[1]From Mississippi Valley Hist. Review, May 1929.

of Spencer's New Jersey Regiment. Finally in July, 1781, he was honored by being made aid-de-camp to Washington. He took part in the surrender of Cornwallis and at the conclusion of the war was one of the American representatives at the evacuation of New York City by the British.

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War he was appointed military attache and secretary of the American Legation in London. John Adams was Minister to Great Britain and had his family with him. Colonel Smith made himself very useful and was a favorite with the Adamses. He visited Germany and wrote John Jay a long essay on his observances. Meanwhile he had fallen in love with Abigail Adams, the charming daughter of John Adams, and they were married June 12, 1786. On intimate terms with Lafayette, Jefferson and other great men of the period, time passed pleasantly for himself and wife. His description of visits to France, Spain and Portugal are full of illuminating experiences.

Upon returning to the United States, he was in time to participate in the discussion of the new Constitution. When his father-in-law was elected Vice-President, Colonel Smith spent some time in Washington, purchased lands in Central New York for speculation, and lived a life of ease. A coolness sprang up between him and John Adams now President, who apparently listened to the misrepresentations of Pickering. In 1799, expecting war with England, Colonel Smith was in the camp drilling troops. In 1806 came the Miranda Expedition which ruined Colonel Smith—a farcical venture in Venezuela.

Broken and impoverished, Colonel Smith in 1808 retired to a farm at Lebanon in Madison County—"Smith's Valley" it came to be called. There he tried to make the most of his misfortunes. His wife died in 1813. He was elected to Congress, but survived his wife only four years. He is buried at Lebanon, N. Y., and this year a marker has been erected to his memory.

The book is written in a vivacious style and the sources are allowed to tell the interesting story, which is an informing picture of the times. New Yorkers generally should read it. The work is carefully done although some errors have not been eliminated. The references to the Sullivan Expedition are a bit confusing.

A. C. F.

A Sketch of the Life of Horatio Seymour 1810–1886. By Alexander J. Wall. (Privately printed, New York, 1929. Pp. 111).

For many years Mrs. Helen Lincklaen Fairchild of Cazenovia, niece of Horatio Seymour, has been collecting materials relating to his private life and public career. These sources have been placed in the New York Historical Society, and Mr. Alexander J. Wall, librarian of the Society has taken a deep interest in them. This "Sketch" has been prepared by him with great care and wide research as a memoir of one of the greatest Governors New York State has had and of an unfailing friend of the history of this commonwealth. The work is so well done that one wishes the author would prepare a fuller biography and edit Governor Seymour's papers.

After a brief survey of Horatio Seymour's ancestry in the opening chapter the remainder of the volume is devoted to his career as the chief executive of the Empire State during the momentous years 1863–1864. His attitude towards President Lincoln, his handling of the Draft Law and the riots which resulted, and his attack on the corruption in carrying on the war are set forth clearly and impartially. The account of Seymour's nomination for President in 1868 is all too short. The discussion of his wide non-political interests shows what a man of vision he was. The analysis of his personality and character is keen and true. A list of his addresses and writings is appended. The illustrations are numerous and distinctive. This excellent monograph will have a wide reading because it deserves attention and conveys a worthwhile message. A. C. F.

The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania. By C. Hale Sipe. (The Ziegler Printing Co., Butler, Pa. Pp. 570. $5.)

In thirty-four chapters the author has assembled the recorded materials and traditions relating to the Pennsylvania Indians and their leaders from the earliest days down to the end of the 18th century. Although devoted primarily to the red man in the Keystone State, yet the Iroquois play a prominent part and individuals like Sir William Johnson, Col. John Butler, Joseph Brant and Cornplanter are given generous treatment. Not only are the psychology, customs and activities of the Indians set forth in a

clear, concise picture, but the frontiersmen as well share in the picture. Many disputed points are left unsettled. Much more might have been said about the Expedition of Col. Daniel Brodhead. The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign is described from Headley, *Washington and His Generals*—an uncritical and erroneous account. The Battle of Newtown was not "on the present site of Elmira" but five miles from that city. The earlier report that "the two Johnsons" (Guy Johnson and Sir John Johnson) were present at the engagement has long since been disproved. The account of the Battle of Minisink should have been checked up more carefully. Despite these defects, the author has done an excellent piece of work in bringing together in one volume materials that are so widely scattered and ofttimes inaccessible. A bibliography and a chronology of primary events are included. Students interested in Indian history and in frontier conditions will welcome this work.

Court Minutes of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1675–1680. Translated and edited by A. J. F. VAN LAER. Archivist, Division of Archives and History. Volume II. (University of the State of New York, Albany, 1928. Pp. 530. $2.50.)

The importance of Albany in the seventeenth century as the center of the fur trade and as the principal meeting place for the maintenance of the alliance with the Indians, which afterwards became the controlling factor in the struggle between the French and the English for the mastery of the continent, amply justifies the publication by the state of its early court records. An attempt to have these records translated was made by the common council of the city as long ago as 1836, but failed because the committee to whom the matter had been referred was unable to find a competent person to do the work. The effort was renewed in 1842, when a brief manuscript synopsis was prepared of the minutes for 1676–1685. The present volume contains a complete translation of the minutes for the first half of this period, covering the years immediately following the second period of Dutch occupation of the province of New York, when many of the original settlers had passed away and the second generation was in control.

Like the preceding volume and the earlier court records of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, this volume contains a number of important ordinances, mostly relating to the fur trade, which the

Albany authorities sought to confine to the palisaded area of the town, to the exclusion of the colony of Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, but with indifferent success. The minutes further contain a multitude of personal data which, in the absence of church records for the period, are of great value to the genealogist, but which incidentally throw a vivid light on the manners, morals and business methods of Albany as a frontier community. Among the outstanding features of the book are the minutes relating to the controversy between Dominie Nicholas Van Rensselaer and Leisler and Milburne and the consistory of the Dutch church at Albany, of which fragments have heretofore appeared, but which are now for the first time printed in full.

These minutes were prepared by the Division of Archives and History of the State Education Department.

Bryan. By M. R. Werner. (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1929. Pp. 374.)

It is rather significant that the biographer of Brigham Young and Barnum should turn his talent to the life of Bryan. But a more fascinating book one seldom reads. The author has taken a liberty with Bryan dead which he would not have dared to do with Bryan living. His chapter headings constitute in part a burlesque on Bryan's attitude towards evolution: "The Origin of the Species" is Chapter I; "The Struggle for Existence" Chapter II; and "The Descent of Man" Chapter VIII. The illustrations are numerous; the bibliography is select; and the index is helpful. Here is depicted a colorful dynamic figure, who was an outstanding political and religious leader in the United States for more than twenty-five years. The picture is not overdrawn, and an effort is made to set forth the man who seemed to be full of strange contradictions to others but never to himself; who was a popular idol because he was continually pointing to the social and economic Promised Land; and who will undoubtedly go down in our history as a picturesque character endowed with extraordinary capacity for arousing mass enthusiasm but with insufficient acumen and compromise to win many political triumphs. He was always "running" for something which he seldom caught. He was a master opponent on the losing side. In the age of Roosevelt and Wilson, William Jennings Bryan gloried in the title of The Great Com-

moner. New York State and New Yorkers who contributed to Bryan's various defeats appear frequently on the pages of the well-written volume.

Paul Revere's Own Story. Compiled by HARRIET E. O'BRIEN. (Privately printed by Perry Walton, Boston, Mass., 1929. Pp. 47. $15.)

The account of Paul Revere's ride as told in a letter to a friend together with a brief sketch of his versatile career constitutes Volume I of a series of rare historic publications. This volume is beautifully made and the edition is limited to 500 numbered copies. Paul Revere, immortalized by Longfellow, is one of our best-known heroes of the Revolution. Less is known about him as an able silversmith in colonial days, and a cartoonist of note. A perusal of Revere's letter shows how much romance Longfellow put into his poem when he pictured Revere as waiting impatiently for lanterns in the belfry of Old North Church and as galloping to Concord at two o'clock in the morning. This account was written in 1775 to Dr. Jeremy Belknap and is faithfully reproduced with helpful explanatory footnotes. One thoughtful chapter is devoted to the "Battle of Lexington and Fight at Concord," which presents a new version. Perhaps the most interesting in the book is chapter V which deals with "Paul Revere, the Man, the Patriot and the Artisan." Nowhere else has so much valuable information about this well-known character been assembled. It is indeed a notable publication. If the succeeding volumes are as well done the series is bound to prove popular with discriminating collectors and students of history.

The West Family Register; Important Lines Traced 1326–1928. By LETTA BROCK STONE. (W. F. Roberts Co., Washington, D. C. 1928. Pp. 494. $10.)

It is a fitting tribute for the pioneer, Joseph West of Prince George County, Md., to have his granddaughter five times removed record his descendants and their activities. One who has not worked in the field of genealogy cannot appreciate what such a volume means in research, organization, interpretation, and accuracy of names and dates.

Joseph West bought his plantation in Prince George County in 1695. The study reaches back through English history to the fourteenth century, and includes Thomas West, the first Governor of Virginia, who was born in 1577. Joseph West married Sarah Harry in 1696 and Sarah Davis in 1698. His three sons William, John and Benjamin perpetuated the name. His will was probated in 1731. It takes 300 pages of the book to mention and describe his descendants, who number several thousand.

The Wests were a numerous family even in colonial days and consequently the author has had a difficult time to show the various connections and relationships. Comparatively little guess-work has been indulged in, and gaps are clearly indicated. The work has been done carefully and accurately. The last four chapters of the volume are devoted to lists, records, a roster of soldiers of the American Revolution, and the names of Wests now prominent in public and professional life. The Index is exceptionally complete and will make the work of value to many investigators of other family lines.

James Ford Rhodes, American Historian. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1929. Pp. 376. $3.50.)

James Ford Rhodes occupies a position unique among our historians in the United States. After a desultory education, he entered the iron and coal business in which at the age of fifty he had accumulated a fortune. His literary taste and interest in history led him to withdraw from an industrial career, remove from Cleveland, O., to Cambridge, Mass., and devote the rest of his life to the study and writing of history. He abandoned business, he wrote, because "I thought I ought to devote myself to something higher." From 1891 to 1927 he engaged in constant research, in organizing his materials, and in polishing it off for the publisher. The field chosen for his labors was the period from 1850 on. The first volume appeared in 1892 and was an instant success. Reviewers spoke of it as a political and social history elaborated from the sources with rare judgment, accuracy, and high literary merit. As the years passed one weighty tome followed another, and the series places the author at the forefront of American historians. Mr. Howe fortunately includes a large number of letters written by Mr. Rhodes to eminent Americans and English-

men on a multitude of subjects. These letters show his wide range of interest, his popularity with men like President Roosevelt and President Wilson; Lord Bryce and Sir George Otto Trevelyan. The biography makes interesting and informing reading.

Glacial Geology and Geographic Conditions of the Lower Mohawk Valley. By ALBERT PERRY BRIGHAM. (Published as Bulletin No. 280, by The University of the State of New York, Albany, 1929. Pp. 133. Maps and illustrations.)

Both scientist and historian look with eagerness for everything from the pen of Dr. Brigham. This study covers about 900 square miles in the Lower Mohawk Valley, which was settled next to the Hudson Valley. It was the only great natural highway from the Atlantic through to the interior of the North American continent. It was the scene of the activities of Sir William Johnson, that great empire builder and the home of the first westward movement of the Dutch. It was the home of the Mohawk Indians. But the records written in the rocks which are interpreted by the author go back of both the white man and the red man many thousands of years. His study started in 1898 and was forwarded as opportunity afforded in subsequent years. Much history and geography are intermingled with geology and special attention is given to local traditions and developments.

L'Enfant and Washington 1791–1792. By ELIZABETH S. KITE. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1929. Pp. 182. $3.)

It is quite generally known that Pierre Charles L'Enfant by the sagacity of President Washington was selected to plan the Federal City of Washington, but the details of the arrangement and L'Enfant's relations with Washington have not been hitherto accessible. The volume includes a helpful Chronology from Sept. 11, 1789 to April 1, 1792. An Introduction entitled "Major L'Enfant and the Federal City" covers 30 pages and is an excellent general survey. The remainder of the book is given to documents with explanatory footnotes. An index should have been added to the work. This volume will be followed by others dealing with Franco-American cultural relations.

Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society 1926–1928. Edited by WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY. (B. P. Walker, State Printer, Topeka, Kans. 1928. Pp. 976.)

This volume contains a number of articles and papers relating to the Middle West. The biographical sketches of "Wild Bill," Peter Robidoux, R. L. Williams and Joseph McClellan are intensely interesting. Mention is made of William Penn Montgomery who was educated at Westfield, N. Y., went to Lecompton in 1860, helped to establish Westfield, Kansas. The Twiss brothers, Kansas pioneers, were natives of New York. An article on "The Long Drive" describes how cattle were driven to New York City. In 1869 a "New York Colony" led by one Walker located on White Rock Creek, Kansas, and built a blockhouse for protection. Reference is made to Kansas lands assigned to New York Indians. The Index is quite complete.

Yesterdays in Little Old New York. By JAMES H. CALLENDER. (Dorland Press, New York, 1929. Pp. 298.)

Here is an attractive volume beginning with Henry Hudson and ending with the last half of the nineteenth century—a survey of about 250 years. Seven chapters bring us to the close of the American Revolution. The succeeding chapters devoted to the nineteenth century are by far the most valuable. The writer's comments, observations and interpretations are keen and thoughtful. The comments on social usages, art, music, the theater, the clubs, the banks, transportation, building operations, literature, shipping, and business are illuminating. The volume was well worth printing and students of history will have occasion to feel grateful to Mr. Callender. Such a book without a good index loses much of its value, however, and it is hoped that this defect will be remedied in the second edition.

Our Revolutionary Forefathers. The Letters of Francois, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois. Translated and edited by EUGENE PARKER CHASE. (Duffield & Co., New York, 1929. Pp. 225. $3.50.)

When these letters began to appear in *The Atlantic Monthly* they aroused considerable interest. The editor presents an introductory sketch of Morbois' connection with the American Revo-

lution and gives a history of the manuscript. The Diary covers the years 1779 and 1780, and includes a "Journey to the Oneidas." A few pages of notes are included in the back of the volume. There is no Index. An amusing account of a visit to the Shakers near Albany will be found. The journey up the Mohawk River is described in an amusing style. The beautiful incident of the chivalric treatment of the old Indian squaw by Gen. Sullivan's soldiers is included in the narrative.

Myths After Lincoln. By Lloyd Lewis. (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1929. Pp. 422.)

In thirty chapters classified in three groups under the titles "The Dying God," "The American Judas" and "Altar Smoke," the author discusses the rise of various post-mortem myths about Lincoln. This is an intensely interesting compound of fact and fiction drawn from contemporary accounts. It shows how easily a whole people may be carried off its feet by an emotional adoration of a public character. "A very human creature" was worshiped as a "god-figure" because America wanted to hear about "the new deity" and not the real Lincoln. In like manner Booth also became immortal as the Black Demon—"the folk-story Judas of America." Greeley, Roosevelt, Seward, Tilden and other New Yorkers are mentioned in the volume. The publishers inform us that Mr. Lewis spent years in searching the sources for the materials incorporated in the book.

A Good Humored Traveller in New Rochelle One Hundred Years Ago. By Otto Hufeland. (Published by The Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, N. Y. 1929. Pp. 10.)

This pamphlet consists of a paper prepared and read by the author before the Association on March 21, 1929. It deals with James Stuart, who was born in Scotland in 1775 and in 1828, with his wife came for a visit to America. He spent four months in New Rochelle. His observations of American civilization were extremely critical. When in 1833 he published a book on *Three Years in North America* it raised such an uproar in the United States that he was forced to print a defense of his book.

Shipways to the Sea—Our Inland and Coastal Waterways. By Ernest S. Clowes. (The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Md. 1929. Pp. 196. $4.50.)

This is without question the best brief history and description of the waterways of the United States available to the public and should be in every library of the country. It is in no sense propaganda for any pet theory or scheme of development but a carefully documented study of the problem. To write such a volume requires the careful research of the historian, imagination, and the scientific mind of the engineer. The organization of the material is excellent. Ths Mississippi system, the Great Lakes system, the St. Lawrence system, and the Atlantic coastal system are treated as units. New Yorkers will be particularly interested in the chapters on the Erie Canal, the Barge Canal, and the proposed St. Lawrence Ship Canal. The Bibliography is quite complete and well arranged, and the Index is helpful.

Memoirs of the late Frank D. Baldwin, Major General U. S. A. By Alice Blackwood Baldwin. (Wetzel Publishing Co., Los Angeles, Calif. 1929. Pp. 204. $4.50.)

Gen. Baldwin was born in 1842 at Manchester, Mich. His military experiences were gained in the west, in the Philippines, and in the Spanish American War. The parents of Mrs. Baldwin were Dr. Thomas Blackwood and Jane Osborne both natives of New York, who were among the early immigrants to California. Within a few years the family returned to New York by sea and then settled in Michigan. The volume is good source material for the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Oct., 1927–June 1928. Volume LXI. (Published by the Society, Boston, 1928. Pp. 326.)

In addition to the minutes of the annual meeting which take up 147 pages there are included in this volume a number of papers and sources. There are several Burgoyne letters of 1778; an article on "Forged Lincoln Letters," by Worthington C. Ford; a note on "Henry Knox—Bookseller"; and materials relating to George Washington. His map accompanying the "Journal to the Ohio" 1754, is reprinted.

The Pageant of Gratitude. By PERCY JEWETT BURRELL. (Printed by Intelligencer Printing Co., Lancaster, Pa. Pp. 126.)

This well-printed booklet contains the text of the historic pageant given at Lancaster on June 24–26, 1929, to commemorate Lancaster's 200th anniversary. Names of participants are added. Dr. H. M. J. Klein adds an illustrated "Chronicle" of Lancaster's history.

A Report of Progress, 1921–1928, by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York and the State Education Department, by Chancellor Chester S. Lord, was given at a complimentary dinner to Dr. Frank P. Graves in New York City on May 17, 1928, upon the completion of his seventh year of service.

Long Island: The Sunrise Home Land—Islandwide Survey of Communities 1929. By R. B. FERNHEAD. (Published by the Long Island Chamber of Commerce, New York, 1929. Pp. 192. 50 cents.)

This is a valuable survey of the various localities of Long Island, giving historical data, descriptions of local attractions, statistics, pictures and maps, and including an index. It makes a helpful guide for anyone visiting Long Island.

The second volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* appeared in May. It includes 670 subjects by 292 contributors. The names begin with Charles Barsotti and end with John Brazer. A large number of New Yorkers are included.

Deerpark: The Delaware and Hudson Canal. By Dr. WILLIAM S. CUDDEBACK. (Printed at Port Jervis, N. Y., 1929. Pp. 35.)

This pamphlet consists of an address by Dr. Cuddeback before the Minisink Valley Historical Society on Feb. 22, 1928. It presents an excellent survey of Deerpark and the lower part of the Minisink Valley.

The *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Supt. of Schools, City of New York, 1927–1928,* consisting of 785 pages, presents an excellent survey of the history of the public schools in the metropolis.

PROGRAM

FOR

ANNUAL MEETING

at Elmira, September 25–28

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25

Afternoon: Registration at Mark Twain Hotel
Evening: Presidential Address—Vice-President Dixon Ryan Fox

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26

Morning: Meeting of local historians
"The Town Records of Elmira"—Boyd McDowell
"The Importance of Local History in the Schools"—Herbert B. Nichols
Period for open discussion
Noon: Business Meeting of the Association
Afternoon: "The Battle of Newtown"—Dr. Arthur W. Booth
"Contemporary Newspaper Comment from the Battle-front of the Sullivan Expedition in 1779"—Prof. Albert H. Wright
Evening: "English, Indians and Tories in the Sullivan Campaign" Abner C. Wright
"The Ambuscade of Groveland"—Judge Lockwood R. Doty
"The Character and Purpose of the Sullivan Expedition"—Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27

Morning and afternoon: Automobile tour with lunch at some point on the route and Dedication of Historical Monuments at
Horseheads—Pres. Frederick D. Lent
Painted Post—Hon. Seymour Lowman
Montour Falls—Hon. James A. Shepard
Ithaca—Hon. Lewis Henry
Evening: "Pioneer Women of Western New York"—Prof. Amy M. Gilbert
"Jemima Wilkinson"—Prof. R. P. St. John
"White Captives among the Indians"—Prof. Dorothy A. Dondore

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28

Forenoon: Dedication of Historical Monuments at Newtown Battlefield and in Elmira
State Program in commemoration of Sullivan-Clinton Campaign—on the Battlefield
Afternoon: Pageant of Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, with 2000 participants, in Mark Twain Park, Elmira

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PERSONALS

One of our venerable and highly respected members, Dr. Albert Vander Veer of Albany, N. Y., celebrated his 88th birthday on July 10, 1929. Many congratulatory messages were sent him. He was born at Root, N. Y., July 10, 1841, and has been a prominent figure in the field of medicine and surgery in the nation, and in education and civic life in the State. Few of our public and professional men have taken a deeper or more intelligent interest in local and State history than Dr. Vander Veer. The QUARTERLY JOURNAL adds its sincere congratulations.

Col. John W. Vrooman continues to devote much of his energy to masonic and historic projects. Through his initiative and zeal the Memorial Gateway to Oriskany Battlefield Park has been completed and paid for.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

The Cazenovia History Conference this year was held on May 10–12. Representatives of the various colleges and of the State Department of Education were present at Cazenovia.

The New York State Council of Parks has had prepared a report as to policy of administration of historic sites and buildings to be presented to the next Legislature.

The Buffalo Association Society of Colonial Wars was entertained on the evening of May 3, with an address by Hon. Vincent G. Hart on "Washington: The Man and Statesman."

The Home and Farm Bureau of Chautauqua County under the direction of A. W. Anderson, Local Historian, on June 28, made an Historical Tour of the historic sites and buildings of Jamestown and vicinity.

At Point Neamo, N. Y., Keuka College, on May 11 presented an Indian Pageant in which the students played the various parts in dance, song and dialogue. At the same time the Iroquois Long House erected on the campus was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

On May 25, the Westchester County Historical Society enjoyed its seventh annual pilgrimage to places of historic interest, Charles J. Dunlap, President, and Herbert Nichols, Secretary, arranged the expedition.

The Syracuse Rotary Club devoted its session of May 10th to a discussion of the "Van Schaick Expedition against the Onondagas in April, 1779." Dr. A. C. Flick gave the main address.

The Oneida County Historical Society on June 21, held its annual meeting at Hamilton, N. Y. An address was delivered at the banquet by the State Historian, Dr. Flick.

On May 20, the enlarged Historical Society Building of the Buffalo Historical Society, was dedicated. Hon. Henry W. Hill, President of the Society, presided and gave a thoughtful account of the history of the Society. Mayor Frank X. Schwab for the City of Buffalo congratulated the Society on its new home and on its cultural activities. Vice-Chancellor Adelbert Moot, on behalf of the Regents of the University of the State of New York offered felicitations to the Society and stressed its usefulness. Dr. A. C. Flick, State Historian, brought greetings from the New York State Historical Association. Mr. Seymour H. Knox offered the best wishes of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. President Chauncey J. Hamlin presented the compliments of the Buffalo Society of Natural Science. The main address was delivered by Dr. John H. Finley of the *New York Times*. The Dedicatory Ode was written by Hon. Henry W. Hall. With its new building and efficient staff the Buffalo Historical Society is one of the best equipped and most useful organizations of its kind in the State. The JOURNAL offers its heartiest congratulations to its efficient secretary, Dr. Frank H. Severance, and his officials and staff.

The Memorial Craftsmen Association of New York State has presented over WGY an historical program on New York State History during April and May. Among the subjects treated were:

The Battle of Bennington
The Battle of Saratoga
The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign
The Spirit of the Green Mountain Boys
Fort Niagara
Fort Stanwix and Oriskany

The Columbia County Historical Society under Mrs. Charles James Come, President, held its tenth anniversary at Hudson, N. Y., on Dec. 8, 1928, at which time an address was delivered by Henry M. James. The thousand members came from seventeen states.

The New Rochelle Historical Society has printed a brochure giving a brief survey of the activities of the Society during its 43 years of existence and describing the Thomas Paine House. William S. Hadaway is President and Herbert B. Nichols Recording Secretary.

The City History Club of New York City has issued a program of its activities for 1929–1930.

The Sons of the American Revolution held a meeting in Syracuse to discuss participation in the observance of Van Schaick Expedition in 1779.

On May 28, the Chemung County Historical Society met at the Steele Memorial Library to make plans for the Sullivan Sesquicentennial on Sept. 28th and the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association at Elmira.

The Sons of the Revolution on June 14 held a meeting in City Hall Park, New York City, at which the 152nd anniversary of the adoption of the flag by Congress was suitably observed.

R. C. Ellsworth has recently had printed an article on the early history of St. Lawrence University which was chartered in 1856.

The Greene County Historical Society under the presidency of Orin Q. Flint of Athens, N. Y., held an enthusiastic meeting on May 24 with 254 members and receipts of $725. The State Historian was made the first honorary member of the Society.

The Memorial Church of the Huguenots of Huguenot Park, Staten Island, on May 26, held memorial services on Huguenot Day and dedicated the Memorial Alcove donated by the Richmond County Chapter of the D. A. R.

The American Geographical Society of New York announces the continuance of its Transcontinental Excursions which have been so successful in past years.

The General Henry Knox Memorial Association is raising an endowment of $150,000 to erect a fireproof replica of "Mont-

pelier" in which will be gathered a museum relating to the Life of that illustrious Revolutionary patriot.

The Orleans County Pioneer and Historical Association held its 70th annual meeting at the Court House, Albion, N. Y., on June 22 and awarded the Gold Medal to the oldest member present. The prize essays were read. An address was given by Rev. Erwin L. Tucker. Reports were made by committees on "Trails and Memorial Markers" and on "The Teaching of Local History in Our Public Schools."

The tenth reunion of the Flint Family was held at Cherry Valley on June 8 and addresses were made by members of the clan. C. Ellis Flint of Milwaukee displayed the family chart which he has prepared.

The Conference House Association of Staten Island, on June 29, held a memorial celebration at Tottenville.

The 250th anniversary of Father Louis Hennepin was observed on June 16 at Niagara Falls under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus.

Through the activity of Assemblywoman Rhoda Fox Graves of Gouverneur, N. Y., the D. A. R. of that village in cooperation with the State, placed a bronze memorial tablet on the stone mansion of Gouverneur Morris. Harold B. Johnson publisher of the *Watertown Daily Times* delivered an excellent address on the "Life and Times of Gouverneur Morris." Dr. A. C. Flick represented the State. Barbara Borne and Robert Caten unveiled the memorial. Mrs. H. G. Aldrich, Regent of the Gouverneur Morris Chapter D. A. R., spoke for the Chapter.

Efforts are being made by the Oriskany Chapter D. A. R. to preserve the historic oak tree in the village of Oriskany, N. Y. Gen. Lafayette was given a reception under this tree in 1825.

The Southampton, L. I., Colony Chapter D. A. R. on July 4 observed the 150th anniversary of Eastern Long Island's part in the American Revolution by the erection of a War Memorial at Agawam Park.

At the March meeting of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society the portraits of President and Mrs. Coolidge were unveiled and Dr. Alexander Clarence Flick made an address on "How Can We Salvage Our History?" President Clarence W. Bowen presided.

The Episcopal Church of St. Luke of Saranac Lake on July 10 celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding in 1879.

The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., reports an attendance of 8,379 during the year 1928 and four free lectures during the year. Under the direction of Miss Florence Dorrance, this Society is taking a prominent part in the observance of the Sullivan-Clinton Sesquicentennial.

The Society of Pennsylvania Archeology has been organized for the purpose of studying Indian civilization and preserving its remains by a scientific survey and directed excavations.

The William Floyd Chapter S. R., of Troy, on June 9th made an historical pilgrimage to Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall in order to study the career of Sir William Johnson as revealed in the buildings and sites associated with him in pre-revolutionary days.

The last meeting of the Sons of the Revolution of the State of New York, on April 30, commemorated the 140th anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as President.

PUBLICATIONS, ARTICLES AND MANUSCRIPTS

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April 18, 1928, contains: an obituary of Robert Hendre Kelby born in New York City, Aug. 31, 1847 and died at Freeport, L. I., Aug. 25, 1927; a discussion of "Who was the author of the Declaration of Independence?" by Charles G. Washburn; and a check list of Almanacs of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. James Benjamin Wilbur presented the Society with $100,000.

The American Historical Review, for April 1929, contains a carefully prepared article on "British Public Opinion of the Peace with America in 1782" by Eunice Wead.

Heath announces the publication of vol. I of *A Social and Economic History of the United States* down to 1860 by Prof. H. J. Carman of Columbia University.

The *Knickerbocker Press*, Albany, N. Y., for April 28, 1929, printed an illustrated article on "Arnold Mills—A Quaker Settlement."

The *New York Times* for April 29 gives a brief history of the "First U. S. Infantry" with a description of its first home at Fort Washington in Ohio and its services in the War of 1812 under Gen. Jacob Brown.

Judge Dow Beekman delivered an excellent address on "Gen. Freegift Patchin and Capt. Jacob Hager" at a recent dedication of monuments to their memory. The address was printed in the *Index* of Cobleskill, N. Y., on June 13. The same newspaper for July 16 presented a paper by Judge Beekman on "The Life of David Ellerson."

A bill to prepare and publish a complete edition of the *Writings of Washington*, recommended by the Washington Bicentennial Commission has been passed by the Senate and House.

Mr. Edward S. Harkness of New York has presented to the Library of Congress original documents bearing on the Spanish conquest of Peru and Mexico. Mr. K. Minassian has given the same institution a collection of Oriental manuscripts.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Westchester County Historical Society for April presents a picture of Jacob Leisler on the front cover and contains: an article on "Wykagyl" by Reginald Pelham Bolton; "St. George's Church," by Herbert B. Howe; "The French Encampment at Yorktown" by Harry B. Roberts; "The Jail Limits Monument," by Charles Everett Moore; and other items of local interest.

The *Palimpsest* for April runs an article on Capt. Joseph Throckmorton who as a youth was connected with a New York City business house.

"Lake George: America's Beauty Spot," is a 38 page leaflet describing the Lake George area.

The *New York Times* for May 17 has an article by Reginald P. Bolton on the variations and contradictions between the records and the pictures of the purchase of Manhattan Island in 1626.

The *Elmira Star-Gazette* on Dec. 29, 1928, celebrated its 100th anniversary with a special issue giving the history of the village and city of Elmira for that century.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April has a short description of "The Hellman Collection of Irvingiana" by R. W. G. Vail.

The *Republican-Journal* of Ogdensburg, N. Y., for May 15, printed a sketch of the activities of Mrs. Rhoda Fox Graves, Assemblywoman from St. Lawrence Co.

Two articles in the *Yale Review* for the spring of 1929—"The Political heritage of the 20th century" by Charles A. Beard and "Macaulay and the New History" by Wilbur C. Abbott—may be read with profit by our members.

Museum Service of the Rochester Municipal Museum for May 15 has a thoughtful article on "Museums and the Park Movement" by Arthur C. Parker, which should be circulated widely over the State.

The *National Republic* for June prints articles on Baron Von Steuben by H. O. Bishop, and "George Clinton, Patriot" by Gouverneur Morris.

"The Leatherstocking Land" is the title of an illustrated folder issued at Cooperstown, N. Y.

Every person interested in the preservation of historical sources should read "Ethics Involved in the Handling of Personal Papers" read by Edgar R. Harlan before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association April 26, 1928, and printed in the *Annals of Iowa* for April, 1929. This same journal prints a biographical sketch of Edward D. Chassel who was born at Holland Patent, N. Y., and died at Des Moines, Ia., Oct. 18, 1928.

The *Buffalo Courier-Express* for March 17 printed an article by Mrs. John Ayrault of Ripley, N. Y., on "Grandma Plumb's Pioneer Experiences." She lived in Rensselaer County and in 1827 went by canal boat to Buffalo.

The beautiful address of our venerable member of the Association, Col. John W. Vrooman, at the 63rd annual encampment of the Departments of New York Grand Army of the Republic held at Utica, N. Y., June 10–13, 1929, has been printed in pamphlet form for distribution among his friends.

The *Watertown Daily Times* June 15 contained a leading editorial on "Making Shrines of History" which said: "The idea of placing markers is admirable and the State is doing an especially desirable thing in locating by the roadsides large signs indicating the nature of the particular historic spot which is being marked." The issue of June 14 printed an article by the State Historian on "Preservation of History in the North Country" and gave a full account of the dedication of a memorial tablet on the Gouverneur Morris mansion at Gouverneur, N. Y.

The Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle* has been printing a series of articles on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign by Dr. Richard E. Day of Albany, N. Y., which have created wide comment. The series will run through the summer.

The Wilkes-Barre *Independent* June 23 presents a paper on the Sullivan Expedition by Hon. Edmund S. Dana, which had never appeared in print before.

The following editorial appeared in the *New York Times* June 10:

The Radio in History Research

An interesting example of casting bread upon the waters—or, more accurately, words upon the air—appears in the story from London about the discovery of important historical records dealing with the British army of occupation in New York during the Revolution.

A lecturer, taking as his subject "Destroying History," told of the losses to scholars through the destruction of personal, official and business files. This so impressed one of the radio audience that he searched through some waste paper waiting to be made into pulp and there found the records of the British Commissary General in America for the years 1774 and 1777. These, on inspection, were found to contain information of interest about New York in those years.

Although the quantity of documents of this sort that have been destroyed is surely high, the quantity still remaining in attics and cellars on both sides of the Atlantic must be great. From time to time important collections of letters have turned up as a result of appeals from libraries or historians through the newspapers. But this is one of the first cases on record of the successful use of the radio in preserving historical records.

A letter on "Destroying History" was sent to all its members by the Westchester County Historical Association; after quoting the above editorial, it concluded:

If you have such old papers and documents and desire to make disposal of them, our Committee on Local History and Family Records will be happy to relieve you of them. Those of local interest will be deposited in the Association's collection and those of other interest placed with organizations having a different or

broader field. In this way you can do yourself a service as well as the cause of history.

In the *Enterprise and News* of St. Johnsville, N. Y., appears for June 19 an instructive article from the facile pen of Lyle Frederick Bellinger on "Family Descent Traced through Property" which all persons interested in genealogy should read.

The *Steuben Advocate* of Bath, N. Y., for May 1, printed a paper written by Miss Charlotte Howe of Prattsburg, N. Y., on the life of Col. Williamson, a pioneer land speculator of Western New York.

The *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for June discusses the question: "How Museums can most Wisely Dispose of Surplus Material"—a paper by Robert W. De Forest.

The *Fort Plain Standard* for April 18 reports that an historic Ford automobile is the possession of a man at Frankfort, N. Y., is still chugging along after 20 years of service. No doubt it will find a place in a museum. In the same issue begins the Journal of Lieut. Robert Parker who took part in Sullivan's Expedition. The printing of the Journal is continued in the issues of April 25 and May 2. In the May 30 and June 6 numbers was printed an excellent summary of the history of Canajoharie village.

The *St. Johnsville Enterprise and News* is now printing more local history than any other newspaper in the State. Milo Nellis continues his exhaustive history of the Klock family and the life of Col. Jacob Klock. In issue of April 10 is a sketch of the life of Richard Montgomery, by Rev. W. N. P. Dailey and a letter from John A. Scott of Rome on Gen. Herkimer's third scout at Fort Stanwix. "First Settlers and their Descendants" and a paper on "Jost Dygert and His Men" appeared on May 1. "Where Our Pioneers Sleep" and additional information on the Snell Family are printed in the number of May 8. "Historic Stone Arabia" is found in the copy of May 29 and June 5.

Those persons who are interested in the local history of the Mohawk Valley will find it possible to obtain pamphlets and books both new and used from our fellow member, Mr. L. D. MacWethy, editor of the *Enterprise and News* at St. Johnsville, N. Y. Because of the valuable historical and genealogical articles in his newspapers subscribers from all parts of the United States

are on his list. He will be glad to offer suggestions for starting genealogical research relating to the Mohawk Valley families.

Nelson Greene has recently prepared a publicity folder entitled "Mohawk Turnpike—300 Miles of Historic Scenery," which is beautifully illustrated and is being widely distributed. It describes the places of interest along Route 5.

Mr. Charles Bean continues his distribution of his informing pamphlet on "Representative Americans" and contributes an interesting letter on recent historical excursions in the Plattsburg *Advertiser* for May 17.

In the issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for May, Dr. A. T. Volwiler writes a thoughtful review of Vol. VI of the *Papers of Sir William Johnson* published by the Division of Archives and History.

The Cohoes *American* for April and May has printed quite a spirited discussion of the date on which Washington visited that place.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June prints a paper by Carl Russell Fish on "Carl Schurz—The American," and an editorial on "Carl Schurz's Historical Output."

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society for July presents illustrated papers on "Silver Wine Labels" and "The Jenny Lind Exhibition." The announcement is made that Dr. John E. Stillwell has made a gift to the Society of 850 historical documents covering the years 1633 to 1840. The Douglas letters of 1776 are continued.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for July in a paper on Gen. Daniel Morgan places his birthplace in Hunterdon County, N. J. This issue gives the life of Lord Stirling by E. Jane Peer.

Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine prints Ellis Beal's paper on "Arthur St. Clair" which will interest New Yorkers.

The *Bulletin* for March 1929 of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society is devoted to Gen. Anthony Wayne and the storming of Stony Point. The issue for June is a constructive message on vital needs for the saving of both our scenery and our history.

"The Two John B. Klocks" by Milo Nellis, appeared in the *Enterprise and News* of St. Johnsville, N. Y., for July 10.

Museum Service published by the Rochester Municipal Museum for June 15 contains an article on "The Value of Archeology to the State" and another on "The Light of Archeology on World Problems" by Arthur C. Parker. A description of the Spirit Lake flint mines is also printed in this issue.

The *D. A. R. Magazine* for May gives an account of the 38th Continental Congress of the National Society, which was attended at Washington by more than 6,000 delegates. Mrs. Samuel Jackson Kramer of New York was elected Curator General.

The 111th Report of the New York State Library announces that the following manuscripts have been either donated or purchased: the diary of Major William Mitchell Stetson (1838–1921) of 486 pages; the Karpinsky collection of maps; appointments and commissions of New Yorkers by Governors George Clinton, John Jay, Lewis Morgan, and Daniel D. Tompkins; letters from Egbert Benson, Myron H. Clark, De Witt Clinton, and others; a copy of the diary of James Constable (1803–6); six letter books of Franklin B. Hough; church, cemetery, town and Bible records; Seymour family papers (1826–1892); and the diary and orderly book of Ephraim Wells (1758–1760).

"The Story of the Old Randall Mansion" which observed its 100th birthday in Cortland, N. Y., has been printed in a little booklet. It was printed first in the *Cortland Standard.*

The *Amsterdam Recorder* of June 5 devoted a page to a description of the records of Montgomery County. The Paul E. Killion Co., of New York City, has been working on the records for some months and they are now in excellent condition. The county is to be congratulated upon having taken this step to preserve and to protect its valuable records and maps.

Bulletin to the Schools for June 14 contains an article on Gen. John Sullivan by Richard E. Day which is based on a careful study of his life.

The illustrated folder on the Finger Lakes which appeared in June contains a section on the Sullivan Expedition and the historic pageants to be produced in Western New York next September.

In an article on "The Final Ties" about the Burlington and Missouri Railroad by E. Douglas Branch in the June *Palimpsest*, reference is made to Jay Gould of New York and his financial activities.

Assemblyman Burton D. Esmond has prepared for general distribution a folder on "Ballston Spa—The Cross Roads of the State" which shows the long list of eminent men and women entertained in Ballston Spa, gives a song with the title "O Ballston Spa," and prints a map indicating Ballston's central location.

"Ye Long Island Almanack" is the title of a booklet issued for free distribution by the Home Title Insurance Company of Long Island. It is both a clever and a useful piece of advertising.

The *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* for April, 1929, is devoted to an article on the "Expedition against New Orleans 1814–1815" with a number of valuable maps. It also contains an article on "The Origin of the American Flag" by Telfair Marriott Minton, which goes into the English origins.

There has been issued at Watkins Glen a souvenir folder on the "Sullivan Trail" which gives a large number of illustrated pictures in color showing places from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., to Watkins Glen, N. Y.

The *Official Bulletin* of the S. A. R. for July, 1929, consists of 177 pages. It tells of the activities of the National Society and of local chapters. The membership of the Society now exceeds 20,000. The receipts exceed $52,000.

The New York *Genealogical and Biographical Record* for July, 1929, prints The Minutes of the Committee of Safety of Livingston Manor, N. Y., in 1776; genealogy of the Lewis family; records of the New York Dutch Reformed Church; and cemetery inscriptions of Huntington, L. I., and Montgomery Co; and the Schaghticoke Dutch Reformed Church records.

"Esther of Olden Days" is the title of a play about Old Cherry Valley in four acts with music written by Captain Abraham B. Cox. It will be presented this summer at Cherry Valley, N. Y.

Quaker Taylor's paper on "An Early Plea to the Indians", in which he reviews the efforts of the Continental Congress in 1775 to win the neutrality of the Six Nations, was printed in the *National Republic* for May 1929.

The *American Agriculturist* for July 13 reprinted in color the map of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign issued by the State of New York as a part of the Sesquicentennial with an informing article on that great military movement.

The *Washington Post* for July 14 printed a sketch of the life of Gen. John Sullivan and an account of the commemorative postage stamp now on sale generally in the East.

The *Philadelphia Enquirer* for May 27 contained a communication on the Sullivan-Clinton Sesquicentennial.

MUSEUMS, MONUMENTS AND REMAINS

The well-known Albany Academy building, which stands north of the Capitol in Albany and is a famous example of Georgian architecture, has been purchased by the City of Albany.

An exceptionally fine replica of the Long House of the Iroquois has been erected on the college grounds of Keuka. The students have been divided into four Iroquois Indian tribes with their own rites and ceremonies. This organization at Keuka College takes the place of Greek letter sororities and has proved to be unusually successful under the personal supervision of President Arthur H. Norton.

Mr. J. Henry Williams of Cohoes, N. Y., has in his possession an Orderly Book of the British Army in Boston for the period from Sept. 9, 1775 to Feb. 1776.

The Howe Caverns were opened for public inspection on May 25th. They have been opened and illuminated for visitation, and are one of the natural wonders of the State.

On April 30, Mayor Walker of New York City laid the corner stone of the new Museum of the City of New York at Fifth Ave. and 103 St. Addresses were given by Gov. Alfred E. Smith, Dr. John H. Finley and George W. Wickersham. Supreme Court Justice Ingraham presided. A fund of over $2,000,000 has been raised for the Museum.

A Committee of 100 has been named to arrange for the expenditure of the $600,000 appropriated by New York City for the erection of a World War Memorial Arch across Fifth Ave.

Cooperstown, N. Y., is projecting a suitable monument in memory of Abner Doubleday, originator of baseball in 1839.

Through the activity of Lou D. MacWethy of St. Johnsville, N. Y., the site of the first church and burial ground has been restored to St. Johns Church.

The Commemorative Stamp of the Sullivan-Clintion Sesquicentennial after much delay was finally issued by the Post Office Department. It is a red two cent stamp with a picture of Sullivan and the dates 1779–1929. It has been placed on sale generally and has proved to be an exceptionally popular issue. New York's congressmen, patriotic societies and newspapers of Western New York, in backing up the resolutions of the Board of Regents and the Legislature, deserve commendation for their activity and influence.

On June 21, the local D. A. R., of Hamilton, N. Y., erected a bronze tablet on the old doorstep of the home of Col. William S. Smith. Miss Katherine Metcalf Roof who has recently discovered Col. Smith as a forgotten hero delivered the chief address. Alexander C. Flick represented the State.

The Reformed Church at Schaghticoke, N. Y., 222 years old has been dissolved by legal proceedings as announced in the Schuylerville *Standard* May 9.

Mrs. H. F. Tarbox of Batavia, N. Y., has presented to the Division of Archives and History at Albany a Cherokee Primer printed in 1846; a map of the N. Y. State Canals in 1859; and "A Story of Olden Times," a pamphlet of 16 pages initialed A. N. D., which deals with the Dutch in the Mohawk Valley.

Through the efforts of Mrs. Harry Shafer, recently appointed Local Historian of the town of Worcester, N. Y., the trustees of the old cemetery have made it one of the most attractive in Central New York.

Miss Abigail F. Halsey on July 4 at Southampton, L. I., presented an historical pageant depicting the early history of that old community. Miss Halsey has been engaged by the City History Club of New York to work with the schools next year.

It has been reported that the tombstone of George W. Gilbert, intimately associated with the construction of the Erie Canal, was recently discovered at Amsterdam, N. Y.

The Greene County Historical Society is urging that the new bridge erected there by the State be designated as "Uncle Sam Bridge" in honor of Samuel Wilson who for some years lived near it.

It is not commonly known that three children of "Buffalo Bill" Cody are buried in Mount Hope Cemetery at Rochester, N. Y. An agitation has been started to remove their remains from Rochester in order to bury them with Colonel Cody on Lookout Mountain, just out of Denver, Col.

Four old carriages and an omnibus at Fort Plain, N. Y., have been purchased by Henry Ford through his agent, C. T. Newton. At Amsterdam he obtained an electric Columbia automobile of the vintage of 1898 and a birdseye maple surrey. An effort was also made to obtain models of old canal boat and water power equipment.

In the Emory A. Chase Memorial Law Library of Catskill, N. Y., hangs an oil portrait of Peter Sylvester, attorney to Sir William Johnson. Through the courtesy of Mrs. J. Van Vechten Vedder, County Historian of Greene County, a copy has been presented to the office of the State Historian.

Through an appropriation of $1,200 by the board of supervisors, Greene county will acquire the valuable collection of maps and field note books of the late Charles H. Van Orden, who was a widely known surveyor of Catskill.

In the collection are upwards of 2,000 maps, including several maps of the old Van Vechten patent at Leeds which can not be duplicated. The maps will be placed in the custody of the county clerk and the note books, suitably bound and properly indexed, will be placed in the Chase Memorial Library.

On the afternoon of June 28, under the auspices of the old Russell (St. Lawrence County) Arsenal High School Alumni Association, and in conjunction with the Department of Archives and History of the State, there was unveiled on the old Arsenal building a tablet setting forth the date of its erection and its subsequent history. The building was erected as one of the chain of defenses along the northern and western frontiers of the state pursuant to an act passed in 1808, as amended in 1809, providing for the erection of buildings in which to store arms and ammunition, and to provide a center for the militia activities of the time. In the case of the Russell Arsenal its history is woven in with that of the St. Lawrence Turnpike, chartered in 1810 and built in the two succeeding years. The address of the occasion was delivered by Richard C. Ellsworth, Secretary of St. Lawrence University at Canton, and a student of the history of the northern part of the state.

ANNIVERSARIES AND CELEBRATIONS

The 107th anniversary of the birthday of General U. S. Grant was observed on April 28 at his tomb on Riverside Drive in New York City. It was announced that of the $400,000 being raised $80,299 had been secured.

The Blooming Grove Chapter D. A. R. on May 16, dedicated a Clinton Memorial, marking the birthplace of Governor George Clinton. Mrs. Selah S. Tuthill of Washingtonville is Regent.

On May 9 at New York University in the Hall of Fame, busts were unveiled to the memory of William C. Bryant, Henry Clay, Oliver W. Holmes, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry W. Longfellow, James Madison, Francis Parkman and Emma Willard. Appropriate dedicatory addresses were made.

Assemblyman Burton D. Edmond of Ballston Spa., N. Y., is actively supporting a project to place signs along the Mohawk Turnpike calling attention to the fact that it connects the three Burgoyne Battlefields—Oriskany, Saratoga and Bennington.

The 200th anniversary of the founding of Trinity Lutheran Congregation at Stone Arabia, N. Y., was observed on June 2 and 3 with religious exercises, historic addresses and the dedication of markers.

The 151st anniversary of the Battle of Wyoming was observed on July 3, 1929, at Wyoming, Pa. The principal address delivered by William A. Wilcox was printed in the Scranton *Republican*, July 4th. Anne Dorrance of Kingston, Pa., is president of the Wyoming Commemorative Association.

The opening observance of the state-wide commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign occurred at Canajoharie, N. Y., on June 15 and 16, 1929. In the forenoon of June 15 occurred the historic parade. At noon the monument erected by the State was dedicated with addresses by Dr. A. C. Flick, State Historian, and Peter Nelson, Executive Secretary. Mayor Harry V. Bush accepted the monument for the village, Judge Newton J. Herrick delivered the historical oration. In the afternoon the pageant depicting the Gen. Clinton Expedition was given. It is estimated that 25,000 people enjoyed the celebration. Not the least important part of the commemoration was the display of many objects of historical sig-

nificance in the shop windows for a period of ten days. The success of the affair is due largely to the tireless efforts of Mayor Harry V. Bush and Supt. N. Berton Alter. A high standard has been set for other localities.

The 75th anniversary of the formation of the Republican Party at Ripon, Wis., was observed on June 7, 1927, by an audience of 20,000. The main address was given by Secretary of War, James W. Good. It remains for other localities claiming this honor to present their credentials.

As a part of the Massachusetts Tercentenary in 1930, it is proposed to erect a typical colonial village to be preserved as a perpetual museum.

On June 1, through the efforts of Village Historian, Herbert B. Howe, the trustees of Mount Kisco, N. Y., erected a tablet at St. Mark's Place commemorating important events in the religious history of the locality.

On July 16, the 150th anniversary of the Storming of Stony Point by Gen. Anthony Wayne was observed at the Stony Point Battlefield Park. Representatives of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania joined with New York in the observance which was held under the auspices of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society of which Dr. Kunz is President and Dr. R. H. Torrey, Executive Secretary. A great-grandson of Gen. Wayne was present to raise the flag as he did fifty years ago. Addresses were made by Lieut. Gov. Youngman of Massachusetts, Congressman Hamilton Fish, Congressman Wainwright, Attorney General Ward, Dr. A. C. Flick, Senator Copeland, and representatives of West Point, New Jersey, the Cincinnati, the S. A. R., the D. A. R., and the D. R.

COMMUNICATIONS

LOCAL HISTORY IN SCHOOLS

Medina, N. Y.,
June 13th, 1929.

My dear Mr. Editor:

For a number of years I have been very much interested in the proposition of teaching local history in our high schools and to that end have given a series of talks before the students here, all of which seem to have met with a considerable success.

At the last meeting of the Pioneers Association of Orleans County I offered a resolution to the effect that the Education Department be requested to take up this matter and make it a required course of instruction. It seems to me that it could be worked in very readily with the other historical courses of the schools without much extra time or expense. I have been informed that others have undertaken to do about the same as we have done here, yet in the vast majority of cases no attention has been given to local history at all. It seems to me that it would be very valuable in the general course of study. Would you be kind enough to give me your views on this subject?

With personal regards, I am

Very respectfully,
LeRoy J. Skinner

ADAM HELMER'S THIRD SCOUT *WAS* HAN YOST FOLTS

Corroborative Evidence

Concerning the hitherto "Unknown Third Scout," there appeared about four columns in the *Rome Sentinel* of March 27, 1929, and in the *St. Johnsville Enterprise and News* of April 10, 1929 under the very interesting headline "After All These Silent Years."

Doubts Are Expressed by Mr. Scott as Follows:—

1. Was Han Yost Folts the third Scout? This is in the *Sentinel's* headline.

2. Has the name of the third messenger been discovered? This is the opening sentence in the *Sentinel's* article.

3. The "affidavit was made something more than sixty years after the battle of Oriskany." This is in the first paragraph at the top of the third column.

4. "And one Han Yost Folts as this deponent remembers and now believes." This is near the top of the third column and quotes a *part only* of one sentence.

5. Impugning Piper as a witness "when he has Adam Helmer in action at Oriskany." This is just below the fourth "doubt." Piper didn't say that.

6. Folts is the only "known candidate for third place on the list of messengers, but not as yet thoroughly proved." This is just below the fifth "doubt." Note substantiating statement which comes later.

7. In addition to Mr. Scott's six doubts concerning Folts, he adds a doubt as to my credulity concerning family traditions and concerning the length of the twenty-four foot long squaw, and asks "whether Commander Bellinger would be disposed to accept the size of the squaw as accurate if a fresh examination of the manuscript should reveal a notary's seal attached." (Thomas is one of my favorite Apostles.)

REPLY

It is interesting to note how different people read an article in English and even an affidavit in the English language, especially if they are unacquainted with ancient as well as modern legal documentary verbiage. It is also interesting to note the insight which those of Mohawk Dutch ancestry have in connection with names, and in the spelling of names, which is lacking in those of British, Dutch or French ancestry. This letter intends to show where Mr. Scott and Mr. MacWethy failed to read correctly the English as written down from an old Mohawk Dutch brain. Also, it is intended to show confirmatory evidence that Han Yost Folts *was* General Herkimer's third scout.

First, concerning names: Johan Marks Demuth, John Adam Helmer, Johan Nicholas Herkimer, Johan Friedrich Bellinger, as well as Han Yost Folts, were all given the first name of John; but as pointed out in other communications, this first name of John was of about the same importance as a grace note in music. It could be sung or not, according to the taste of the individual. Thus, with Demuth the name John should not be used any more than with General Herkimer. To call him John Herkimer because his given name was John Nicholas, would confuse him with his brother John. The same applies to Helmer. The name John does not apply to the noted scout Adam Helmer. To be sure the first name John was used in the familiar cognomen "Honnikol" Herkimer, also in the cognomen "Hoffrich" Bellinger. From the above it is seen that Marks Demuth, not John Demuth, is the man we are interested in as the second scout accompanying Helmer.

So far as use of the English alphabet on German names is concerned, spelling is a secondary consideration. One old Dominie wrote at the baptism of a girl, her name Gertraut (Gertrude). The English clerk, who later wrote up the will, gave this same girl's name as "Charity" and both are correct if you know your German. Mr. MacWethy knows of one facsimile signature from which was printed a name "Bong Mattesz" when it was really "Jorg Mattice." If J-o-r-g doesn't spell "George," some one else must express the doubts. Copies of the original affidavit attached to Helmer's pension application do not show "Han Yost" Folts, they show "Handy Foot" Folts, and the need of the "understanding mind" of the Mohawk Dutchman is shown.

The Third Doubt

The point is made that one's memory fails sixty years after an event. That is true concerning recent occurrences in the life of elderly people, while recollection is very clear concerning actual incidents of early youth or manhood. A case in point is that of Colonel Jacob Klock who, on his death bed, was continually asking, "Where is Elizabeth," the name of his first wife, a Bellinger. His second wife was present. Others present thought he meant a granddaughter unable to be there.

The Fourth Doubt

The legal verbiage mentioned in the affidavit "as this deponent now remembers and believes" appears throughout the entire affidavit and in many other affidavits connected with pension papers. These words were added to some extent because it increased the fee for copying. (Try to read some deed of 200 years ago on the lease and release system, and see where the land description begins. Oh my!) If the copyist had received $1.00 per word, which is the price paid to some of our ex-presidents, we should probably have seen that "phrase" appear much oftener than it actually did. This phrase refers both grammatically and, as a matter of fact, to the entire subject of the verb "were dispatched," that is, to the three men named. A careful reading of the sentence will convince anyone that this is the correct grammatical construction. There was no doubt in the deponent's mind as to what he "remembers and believes" concerning all three of the scouts.

The Fifth Doubt

Mr. Scott's doubt is in error also in connection with his reading of the location of Adam Helmer at the battle of Oriskany. He is correct in the fact that Helmer was sent by General Herkimer on the night of the 5th of August, 1777. Andrew Piper's affidavit states "the companies of rangers and militia—were both engaged in the Oriskany battle." The grammatical construction again is correct: that the company of rangers in which Adam Helmer served was in the Oriskany battle, also that the company of militia in which Piper served was in the Oriskany battle. The subject of this sentence is "companies." The subject is *not* "deponent and Adam."

Additional Evidence

In order to obtain letters and historical stories about the Mohawk Valley from elderly people, it is necessary to have the eye of faith, a believing attitude, an understanding mind, and a Mohawk Dutch ancestry. Dabblers in history are becomingly modest; so I admit having only all four of these necessary qualifications. I admit using them on a dear old lady over twenty years ago when she was in her "early nineties," and in consequence received many stories which will be brought out at some proper time. Note the following from her: "I will give you the names of those people that I heard tell the stories I have mentioned in my writings. Those people I heard when I was a little girl; one was my grandmother, Aunt Katie Myers, Adam Helmer and his sister Katie, Uncle Joseph Folts, Conrad Widrick and Joseph Stockbridge. He was a friend to my father. He was in Fort Dayton when grandfather was there. Those people I saw and heard them talk. They came to my father's house often. They were always welcome. Widrick was very old when he died. The last time Uncle Joe was there, he told of the time when he and Colonel Willet went to carry those dispatches. That was the last time my grandmother saw him. She died soon afterwards. Uncle Joe returned to his home at Manlius Center. He soon passed away. They have all gone, one by one. So this is the end of all, and I have done." This letter is given just as written by Mrs. Forman. I admit a slip in my "understanding mind" in her statement about Uncle Joseph Folts who went with Colonel Willett to carry

those dispatches. In fact, the significance of this statement was not observed by me until after I had written the letter which appeared about "the unknown third man" who carried those dispatches. When people are in the early or the late nineties, words are omitted, punctuation is neglected, and prepositions are misused. It is comparatively easy for me to see that the dear old lady who wrote these letters to me had been told by Uncle Joe about his going *to* Colonel Willet, instead of *with* him as she actually states. That this Joseph Folts is the particular one who was with Adam Helmer the night before the Oriskany battle is borne out in the other letters by the venerable writer. To my mind this is evidence strongly corroborative of Andrew Piper's affidavit that Han Yost Folts was that particular third scout.

I have other affidavits to bring out in the future which upset some of the accepted stories and ideas now prevailing in the Valley about other individuals than Han Yost Folts.

The Long Squaw Again

The fact that the reading of a sentence or an article makes a lot of difference is seen in our description of "The twenty-four foot long squaw." The issue between Mr. Scott and me is one of belief concerning an unsupported grammatical statement, and one which is confirmed by an affidavit followed by a notary's seal. This being a question of belief, I agree, in case a notary's seal is attached to a description of another person of the size of that squaw, to swallow just as much of the affidavit as does Mr. Scott.

LYLE FREDERICK BELLINGER

Norfolk, Va.,
April 20, 1929.